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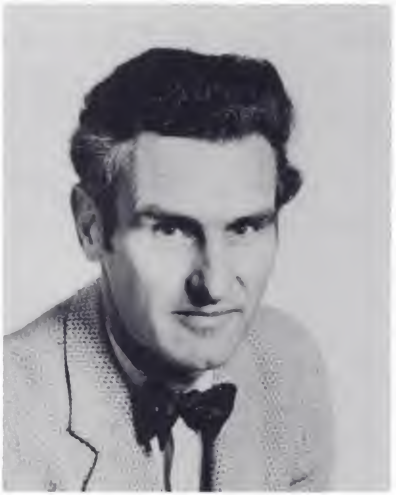
CONTENTS/ SOMMAIRE

This One
ZWD7-HY7-F4RG

BOOK REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

Richard Frank Salisbury
1926-1989



Richard Salisbury with a group of Miya Miya villagers in Enga Province, Highlands New Guinea, 1984.

IN MEMORIAM : RICHARD SALISBURY

Crees believe that all honourable men belong to the same tribe. Richard Salisbury was an honourable man.

Richard Salisbury et l'anthropologie du développement

Marc–Adélard Tremblay
Université Laval

Je suis heureux de prendre la parole à ce colloque consacré à la mémoire de Richard Salisbury que nous appellions familièrement Dick. À l'occasion de ma première intervention, durant le service commémoratif en septembre 1989, j'ai mis en relief la qualité de sa participation dans les sociétés savantes et les associations professionnelles où il nous a légué une solide tradition de probité, de rigueur et d'engagement. Je soulignais aussi comment la qualité et la diversité de sa production scientifique le plaçaient aux tout premiers rangs de l'anthropologie et des sciences sociales canadiennes. Ses expériences de terrain aux États–Unis, en Nouvelle–Guinée, dans les Guyanes, au Québec rural, à la Baie James, dans les Territoires du Nord–Ouest et au Labrador procédaient toutes d'une même intentionalité, soit celle de rendre les données ethnographiques utilisables à des fins endogènes. C'est affirmer qu'il fallait que ces expériences permettent à ceux et celles qui participent à l'observation de bénéficier directement des retombées de l'enquête, par le biais d'un relèvement des niveaux de vie (développement économique) et d'une prise en charge des affaires relevant de leur situation géopolitique particulière (développement de la qualité de vie ou développement social).

Vous l'aurez compris, par cette introduction, je n'ai pas l'ambition d'évaluer l'ensemble de l'oeuvre de Richard Salisbury, ce qui, à mes yeux en tout cas, représente une entreprise considérable. J'entends, plutôt, me limiter à esquisser dans ses grandes lignes sa contribution à une anthropologie du développement, selon trois axes particuliers où son action soutenue fut déterminante. À savoir: (a) le Programme d'anthropologie du développement à McGill; (b) ses travaux de recherche ainsi que ceux de son équipe lesquels ont exercé un impact bénéfique sur les populations étudiées; et (c) son rôle de tout premier plan dans l'établissement d'une Société canadienne d'anthropologie appliquée.

Le Programme d'anthropologie du développement à McGill, créé à la fin des années cinquante par Norman Chance, représente une innovation d'importance dans la mesure où il visait à incarner ici des expériences transculturelles de développement, amorçées depuis l'Après–guerre principalement par des anthropologues américains dans le but de faire la promotion de l'avancement technique, de la santé publique et de l'alphabétisation. Sous la direction de son promoteur, cette idée eût à peine le temps de s'enraciner et de donner lieu à des observations de nature économique auprès de populations Cris de l'hinterland québécois. Sous le leadership de Salisbury, après le départ de Chance, cette initiative particulière prendra toute son ampleur et acquerrera une

grande maturité. En effet, Salisbury amplifiera le modèle théorique de départ, élargira et diversifiera l'aire territoriale d'observation et obtiendra, par la compétence des travaux de l'équipe qu'il dirigeait, un statut de médiation entre les visées gouvernementales de développement des populations autochtones et celles que ces dernières entretenaient par rapport à leurs conceptions et visions de leur avenir.

Il faut spécifier que des circonstances contextuelles historiques et sociopolitiques particulières se sont conjuguées pour permettre l'acquisition de cette fonction médiatrice tout à fait exceptionnelle dans "la négociation d'un mode de vie" pour reprendre la belle expression d'Ignatius LaRusic (1979). D'autres, mieux qualifiés que moi qui ont été avec Dick parties prenantes à cette expérimentation sociale québécoise extraordinaire et exemplaire à plusieurs égards, pourront l'évaluer dans toute son ampleur. Pour ma part, je n'en retiendrai que les faits saillants. Salisbury a consigné les résultats de ses travaux à la Baie James dans son ouvrage *A Homeland for the Cree* (1986), rédigé grâce à l'obtention de l'une des prestigieuses bourses Killam. Pour ce faire, il fallait que ce territoire scientifique ait été occupé par des activités professionnelles spécifiques et que celles-ci aient été reconnues, par les deux parties concernées, comme ayant une pertinence et une signification propres. C'est ce que réalisèrent Salisbury et son équipe avec brio, disons-le sans retenue et avec fierté, pour réussir à se voir reconnaître dans une fonction privilégiée et à conserver, au fil des ans, une crédibilité qui ne s'est point démentie. Voilà, il me semble, pour ne référer qu'à cet exploit, une réalisation qui a grandi notre discipline et qui lui a conféré une visibilité plus positive dans notre milieu. Il aura réussi à contrer une représentation populaire, hélas trop souvent exprimée : "Il y a trop d'anthropologues, quelle est au juste leur utilité?".

Cette expérimentation sociale, unique dans les annales de l'anthropologie québécoise, à une période aussi hâtive de l'enracinement académique de l'anthropologie, a permis la formation de toute une génération d'anthropologues anglophones et francophones – car Dick a réussi à attirer plusieurs de nos étudiants des universités francophones – pour les initier à ses visées sur le développement des populations autochtones. Ces participants de la première heure et ceux qui leur ont succédé ont toujours nourri vis-à-vis de Dick la plus haute estime pour l'homme de science qu'il était. Ils ont essaimé à l'échelle du pays dans l'enseignement universitaire, dans les Centres de recherche, dans l'administration gouvernementale, dans les Instituts de recherche et d'intervention, dans l'entreprise privée, dans les associations autochtones, à peu près dans tous les milieux préoccupés par le sort des populations minoritaires et défavorisées. Voilà un rayonnement dont peu d'entre nous, s'il en est, peuvent s'enorgueillir. Ils ont tous et elles ont toutes une originalité propre qui fait progresser les idées que Dick n'aura pas eu le temps d'implanter: cela est remarquable et témoigne de la souplesse de l'encadrement reçu par leur "maître à penser".

Le Programme en anthropologie du développement, dont Dick a assumé la direction de 1962 à 1985, s'est bâti, comme on le sait, une réputation internationale. La participation de McGill avant, pendant et après la signature par les Inuit et les Cris de l'Entente de la Baie James a reposé sur les épaules de Dick. Elle est le fruit, à n'en pas douter, de la diversité de ses expériences culturelles, de sa volonté à réaliser le transfert des connaissances anthropologiques sur les processus de modernisation en régions périphériques et de sa détermination à poursuivre inlassablement l'objectif de favoriser ce que Roger Bastide a nommé la culturalisation du progrès.

Ajoutons quelques commentaires sur les aspects plus proprement scientifiques de sa contribution à l'anthropologie du développement. Ses travaux en Nouvelle-Guinée et la publication de son ouvrage *From Stone to Steel*, sorti des presses en 1962 et consacré à l'impact de la technique sur les structures économiques traditionnelles, l'avait déjà consacré comme spécialiste de l'anthropologie économique. Son livre, comme l'affirme Bruce Trigger, est devenu un classique sur le sujet pour la période de l'Après-guerre. Ses nombreux écrits en anthropologie économique dans les années suivantes dans des collectifs consacrés à cette thématique, dans les encyclopédies, dans les revues spécialisées, dans les ouvrages témoignant de l'avancement des connaissances dans les champs anthropologiques, tels que *Annual Review in Anthropology*, témoignent largement de l'expertise et de la stature qu'on lui reconnaissait. Ce qui me frappe dans l'éventail des titres coiffant ses travaux sur le sujet et dans la très grande diversité des lieux de publication, c'est à la fois la solidité de ses connaissances anthropologiques et le nouvel humanisme qui s'en dégage. Celui-ci prend sa source d'inspiration dans les classiques de l'anthropologie mais débouche pleinement sur une nouvelle vision de la pratique anthropologique où l'imagination théorique, la rigueur opérationnelle et l'intuition phénoménologique s'arriment et s'intègrent en fonction du service à la communauté faisant l'objet de l'expérimentation sociale.

Le modèle théorique qu'il utilisa en Nouvelle-Guinée, de son propre jugement, était

plutôt simple, quoique parfaitement bien documenté et illustré, dans la mesure où il associait l'avancement technologique et l'accroissement de la productivité économique. Celle–ci, tout en réduisant le temps consacré au travail, libérait de ce fait des moments libres pour la participation politique et les activités de consommation. Ces dernières en venaient ensuite à exiger de nouveaux investissements. Ce modèle qu'il avait mis à l'essai sur des populations relativement isolées, il l'enrichira de variables intermédiaires dans son étude sur les Vunanami, un groupe de la Papouasie–Nouvelle Guinée plus directement intégré à l'économie mondiale. Il y accordera une position centrale aux structures du pouvoir local dans le processus de prise de décision de l'acceptation de l'innovation technologique, spécialement si celle–ci requérait des transformations dans les structures professionnelles de production.

Sans entrer dans tous les détails techniques nécessaires à une démonstration, on peut dire que cette étude, publiée en 1969, contribuera directement à une nouvelle amplification du paradigme utilisé dans ses travaux et ceux de son équipe à la Baie James pour prendre en considération, en plus des structures politiques locales et régionales et une nouvelle prise de conscience identitaire, la valeur marchande de travaux non monnayés dans l'économie locale traditionnelle, mais reliés à l'économie moderne, principalement celle des services. Son objectif premier, tel qu'il le résume dans sa demande pour l'obtention d'une bourse Killam, et je le cite:

> C'est d'isoler les facteurs qui produisent un développement réussi là–bas – le triplement des revenus, l'établissement d'un gouvernement régional efficace et interactif, une administration locale des services, des hausses substantielles dans les standards de logement, de santé et d'éducation, associées à une réapparition des activités traditionnelles, à la renaissance de la fierté ethnique – (de considérer cette constellation de facteurs) – et de les intégrer dans un modèle général de développement.
>
> Résumé du projet, 1979:13

L'originalité du schème théorique proposé découle d'une vaste érudition ethnologique puisque Dick Salisbury maîtrise également bien les courants théoriques et méthodologiques de l'anthropologie sociale anglaise, ceux de l'anthropologie culturelle américaine des années récentes et ceux de l'anthropologie en périphérie. De plus, ne cherche–t–il pas aussi à intégrer dans une vision unifiée sur le développement en régions excentriques, des concepts en provenance de l'économique, de la science politique, de la sociologie et de l'anthropologie? Cette sensibilité à une perspective transdisciplinaire du développement dans le Nord canadien m'apparaît une des caractéristiques de la contribution spécifique de Salisbury.

Dick et son équipe possèdent un flair politique exceptionnel lorsqu'on prend conscience que la plupart des recommandations issues de leurs travaux ethnographiques ont été adoptées soit directement par les instances gouvernementales blanches ou indirectement par les Cris à la suite de leur mobilisation politique, de leur longue marche en vue d'une Entente négociée sur leurs droits en 1975 et de la mise en pratique des termes mêmes de cette entente. De l'anthropologie conventionnelle, à une anthropologie critique et à une anthropologie de l'engagement social, voilà une trajectoire professionnelle que Dick a empruntée avec un succès évident pour laisser une marque durable dans les domaines d'une anthropologie du développement et des études autochtones. Le message de son testament intellectuel est riche d'enseignements pour notre profession qui n'a pas encore accepté d'emblée la légitimité de l'intervention anthropologique et qui n'a pas encore su enrayer complètement les barrières qui existent entre les anthropologues universitaires et ceux qui sont, à un titre ou à un autre, engagés dans les services professionnels et l'action dans la communauté.

Dick a estimé, j'imagine, que son témoignage écrit demeurait insuffisant. Car il a accepté d'accéder à la présidence de la Société d'anthropologie appliquée du Canada en 1986, en dépit d'un agenda assez lourd. Ce geste, peut–être pas inhabituel chez les personnes fort occupées, revêt une symbolique particulière dans son cas. S'il avait réussi, avec les moyens du bord et avec l'aide de jeunes loups avides de connaissances et d'expériences novatrices, une aventure intellectuelle passionnante, peut–être en était–il autrement pour d'autres collègues plus isolés et moins bien outillés que lui, qui éprouvaient le besoin de s'appuyer sur des cadres institutionnels qui déborderaient leurs milieux d'appartenance? Il était prêt à répondre à leurs sollicitations et à épauler les efforts entrepris par l'Association depuis 1982 avec l'ardeur du néophyte, lui qui pourtant avait déjà à son crédit des dizaines de réalisations de tout premier ordre. C'était encore pour lui une occasion d'offrir aux plus jeunes de notre profession, aux personnes qui ne fréquentent pas habituellement les réunions de sociétés savantes et les colloques disciplinaires une tribune où elles pourraient s'exprimer.

Il était avec Milt Freeman de ceux qui avaient la notoriété et la compétence nécessaires pour élaborer des règles déontologiques devant constituer les assises d'une éthique de l'action professionnelle. Je me souviens encore de ses propos de 1985 sur l'accréditation professionnelle qu'il ne voyait pas tellement comme un visa pour obtenir un poste sur le marché du travail mais comme une occasion toute désignée pour relever la qualité de la formation anthropologique et pour rehausser la réputation et la crédibilité de l'anthropologie. Ce leitmotiv de l'excellence qui traverse ses vues ici n'est pas une fleur de style. Il est, au contraire, le reflet d'une pratique et d'un vécu pleinement assumés à son enseigne. Dick est parti beaucoup trop tôt: son carnet était rempli de projets. La dernière fois que je l'ai vu, en décembre 1988 avec Gilles Bibeau, nous avions défini ensemble le contenu d'un numéro spécial d'*Anthropologica* sur l'anthropologie *au* Québec. Son souvenir n'a pas fini de nous habiter et de nous inspirer, ceux de sa génération comme ses héritiers intellectuels.

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Richard Salisbury's Style: A Colleague Remembers

Dan R. Aronson
McGill University

For many of us it was especially Richard Salisbury's style of professional work that most marked his uniqueness. Perhaps the origins of that style derived from an area of his life that few of us knew much about, even though he displayed its souvenirs in his office. The Royal Marines, which he joined just after the Second World War ended, was where he began learning the economics that would serve him so well in his anthropological research. But it was also where he flourished in a brief career he had begun at school, a career as a boxer. Dick was the Marine Officers' heavyweight champion in 1947, its light heavyweight champion in 1948. He went on to earn his Blue at Cambridge— what we would call his varsity letter— and also fought with the prestigious Belsize Boxing Club from 1949-1951. He lost his final fight to Bombardier Smith, who went on to win the Olympic light-heavyweight medal the following year. Dick's overall record was about 28 wins in about 40 fights, ten by knock-outs. Although his medals were in his office at McGill, apparently few of us ever asked about them.

If he had continued winning his bouts, perhaps he would not have gone on to do his anthropology at Harvard! There he played a slightly gentler sport, rugby, one of those like hockey that Harvard keeps bringing talent in from the Commonwealth to play. Dick was voted Most Valuable Rugby Player at Harvard in 1952 and went to the Bermuda Tournament as a member of the U.S. all-star team. He continued to play during his fieldwork and study in Australia and New Guinea, where he was at center-threequarter on the Papua New Guinea championship team in 1953. Dick also mountain-climbed, skied, and cycled, and his love of sports lasted all his life.

But it was his boxing that he was most proud of, and his boxing that perhaps served as the metaphor for his later career. Dick's approach to research, as he himself did it and as he fostered it in his students, was to wade in directly, to do research by starting to do it, not by preparing grand schemes or training for years in preparatory courses. It is significant that as Dean the one course he kept teaching in the Department was his "Introduction to Research," the course where he found eager students and turned them into anthropologists by encouraging them to wade in, to plan some research and start doing it, not by telling them how joyful it would be to study anthropology for long years or by drilling them on "field work methods."

Dick's approach to applying anthropology was in the same vein. He sought to bring opposed parties into direct but evenly-matched confronta-

tion: he insisted that development agencies, private firms or governments not simply clobber local people, but that those who were to be affected by development be given the knowledge and the coaching to wage a fair fight for themselves. The approach worked well, in New Britain off new Guinea, in Bougainville, in Guyana, in James Bay and across the Canadian north. In his writings on the role of the anthropologist in development situations we see him laying down the rules for fair fights and for good coaching.

Dick's approach to building institutions, whether the multitude of anthropological organizations he constructed or the administrative units he worked in here at McGill, also had its pugilistic inspirations. Dick always sought to find the openings, take advantage of the right moments, feint and jab, and above all never to back down from challenges. An entrepreneur, he always stepped in to new opportunities, never away from them. Impatient with methodicalness and grand planning, he preferred to win points where he could find them, and to go on to seize new ground rather than rest on the point already won. So he stepped in to take on the immense job of chairing the program of the XIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, he saw the need to direct the Center for Developing-Area Studies at McGill at a critical moment, and he achieved growth in the Faculty of Arts — point by point, a quarter or a half a position at a time — when many of the rest of us were feeling that nothing could be done.

Those of us who were privileged to be his colleagues in the McGill Department of Anthropology knew that he was not just the founder of our Department but its central pillar and primary illumination. What distinctiveness and distinction we have, as a Department built around the study of social change and development, we owe largely to Dick's leadership. By his many seminal writings, his stature in anthropology is assured; his stature as a colleague and as a human being will be assured in the impression he has left on all of us as a championship player on the side of social science, humane development, and respect for one another.

NOTE

The author is indebted to Mary Salisbury for conversations upon which this reflection is based.

RICHARD F. SALISBURY, REFLECTIONS ON THE INTEGRITY OF THEORY AND PRAXIS

Harvey A. Feit
McMaster University

In the midst of an academic world which has become increasingly specialized, increasingly skeptical of claims to sound knowledge and wisdom, and increasingly ambiguous about the role of scholars in the wider world, Richard Salisbury stood out. He stood out in part because he did not reflect these trends. He always had an intellectually rigourous point of view, a commitment to what he thought was right, and a passionate activism in the service of other people and peoples. He was a scholar who deeply affected those who had the opportunity to know or work with him, students and colleagues.

Richard Salisbury pursued an exceptionally productive career as a scholar, teacher, administrator, applied social scientist, and public figure. Yet, the generosity with which he gave his skills and resources to others was truly exceptional. As a teacher, his pedagogical style was an uncommon but effective combination of intellectual clarity, incisive knowledge of the subject, and a gentle frankness. What was fascinating to me was how he upheld high standards of excellence yet encouraged creative learning. He had an unusual capacity to contribute to the scholarly work of students by showing the student that they had done more than they thought, at the same time as suggesting that they had done less than they were capable. He cultivated this disjuncture, using supportive yet incisive critical advice in order to clarify assumptions and present alternative formulations which opened students to new insights.

I will never forget my first extended scholarly encounter with him in a graduate school setting. He served as the initially anonymous evaluator of my Masters Thesis. Most of his roughly-typed page of comments were straight forward and generally encouraging, but his final paragraph took my breath away. He started out by simply stating that I had

reached the wrong conclusion. He said that all my evidence actually pointed to the conclusion I had rejected, along with numerous scholars before me. When I caught my breath, refocused my attention, and read carefully, he had shown how my analysis was based on overly simple assumptions about social action, whereas if I adopted more sophisticated models, the analysis led to truly new conclusions. He concluded his comments by claiming that what he had suggested just followed from what I had already done. From my point of view, it looked more like he had pushed me through a major breakthrough in my thinking, as well as showing me an exciting scholarly contribution.

The admiration and high esteem in which Richard Salisbury was widely held was in part a reflection of this profound respect and commitment he gave to others. I know that several of us would not be in the profession were it not for his guidance and support, sometimes in difficult circumstances. My own involvement in applied work with the James Bay Cree, while still a degree candidate and a junior professor, was always supported despite the major delays it caused in completing my dissertation. It put Richard Salisbury under substantial pressure, and it must have caused him considerable concern. But he never spoke of that to me, he only spoke of his sympathy for the pressures I was under.

His understanding reflected his own career, which combined a devotion to intellectual rigour with a passionate activism. His blending of these two commitments defined a profound personal and professional integrity. This intellectual and applied synthesis also constitutes one of the truly distinctive features of his work. I think that he extended this synthesis to a richness rarely attempted in contemporary anthropology. Richard Salisbury showed anthropologists the value, and sometimes the necessity, of linking general theoretical formulations to applied anthropological analyses. He demonstrated that anthropologists can seek theoretical or applied objectives by pursuing both in dialectical process. At a more intimate level, he showed that such linkages provide the foundations for a distinctive professional integrity.

It is common in anthropological writing about the careers of scholars to assume that the applied activities of anthropologists have a marginal relationship to their academic concerns. In general, our histories of the discipline ignore the applied concerns of scholars. Where anthropological accounts do treat the relationship between applied activities and scholarly practice, we tend to either relegate consideration of applied work to a separate section of the study, removed from the scholarly and historical analysis of the scholar's theoretical and empirical endeavours; or we tend to use applied endeavours as an analytical indicator of the broader social or political values of a scholar, in order to help us understand his or her theoretical positions.

From the point of view of social analysis, we know that such a radical separation between arenas of human action is not a feature of human social agency which can be taken for granted. The value of viewing and analyzing everyday cultural and social life through the concept of holism is one of the central assertions of anthropology. A recurrent theme in our writing about small scale societies is the claim that generally there is no radical separation of one domain of thought and practice from another. This holism of human social life plays a central role in analyses from diverse theoretical and ideological persuasions. It is therefore surprising that in our accounts of the life and work of anthropologists we do not often use the concepts of holism or integrity for either descriptive or explanatory purposes.

However, it is essential for us to look for integrations rather than separations in order to appreciate some of Richard Salisbury's distinctive accomplishments. I think Richard Salisbury lived and worked in a way that sought to express and demonstrate the connections between professional, political, economic, moral, family, and spiritual engagements. He made visible the special personal and social fulfillment that flows from these connections in our own lives. He sought to develop a framework for anthropological praxis within the scholarly milieu that encouraged such integration. And he sought to address society from the assumption of the interrelatedness of actors and agencies. This way of working pervasively informs his writings, his applied projects, and the institutional developments he nurtured.

We can see elements of this integration in his writings on development and on anthropology itself, especially his views of the role of the anthropologist. A central theme of Richard Salisbury's writings has been the promotion of linkages between the theories of socio-cultural anthropology and the analytical problems of applied anthropology. He has strongly argued for the value to each from this interaction, citing examples from his own experience contributing to economic theory and transactional analysis (as in his article, "Application and Theory in Canadian Anthropology: The James Bay Case," 1979). And he suggested that such linkages bind the social scientist to the wider society in ways that engage both professional knowledge and pluralistic values, a view he conceptualized in the role of the anthropologist as "societal ombudsman" (1976).

These conceptions follow directly from his widely cited studies of economic anthropology and development in which he considered the social, political and cultural components of development processes (From Stone to Steel, 1962 and Vunamami, 1969). While his work was addressed to debates within economic and social anthropology, it was also directed to development planners and applied social scientists, addressing theoretical issues at the same time it stood as a critique of development economics as it was commonly practiced.

These concerns were later extended to work in northern Canada where Richard Salisbury elaborated his praxis, and extended the linkages, by undertaking consultancies with and for indigenous peoples' organizations, and by entering into public policy debates as a citizen and scholar. In his initial work on the James Bay Hydro-electric scheme he demonstrated the utility of economic decision-making models for Quebec development planners, elaborated his theory of decentralized development through the subsistence and service sectors, addressed critical negotiating issues for the regional Cree leadership, and entered into the public policy debates over the proposed hydro-electric project and its impacts (for example, see Development and James Bay: Social Implications of the Hydroelectric Proposals, 1972).

His recommendations to the government developers called for significant changes in their plans for how the hydro-electric development should proceed. His arguments were based on his earlier experience and on the world-wide development literature, and he convinced the government agencies to significantly alter these plans. The changes included new initiatives for local involvement, recognition of the need to support the subsistence sector, the recognition of a local role in plans for development of service industries, as well as relocating and isolating camps and staging areas away from indigenous settlements, and creating a local priority for on-the-job training programmes. For the Cree the report emphasized the consequences of demographic growth, the vital but limited potential for the growth of subsistence hunting activities, the need to upgrade job skills in the population, the need to evolve region-wide planning, and the critical importance of political rights and effective organization for social and economic development. He was one of the very first advisors to recommend that the Cree challenge the hydro-electric project by taking out a court action based on claims to aboriginal rights.

The importance of legal rights and the view that subsistence production is and should continue to be central to northern indigenous societies as they undergo changes were views being expressed by the elders and young people from the communities. As a consequence, indigenous peoples made the issues into a matter of national political and media attention in Canada, through both the James Bay court cases and the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry. Richard Salisbury's pioneering studies served as an important analytic statement and demonstration of the plausibility and necessity of regionally decentralized economic development and of recognizing indigenous rights as a critical political component of effective economic development. Richard Salisbury was a widely sought expert by the media on these issues, and he wrote public contributions to these critical debates.

Richard Salisbury was passionately concerned to both learn from indigenous people's knowledge and practices and to carry their arguments for greater autonomy and decentralized development back to urban and industrial centres. His support for indigenous and third world peoples, and his reasoned and rigorous research and arguments in support of their claims, sought to complement and enhance their own initiatives. But he also sought to inform them of insights which social science perspectives could contribute to their success. In the James Bay situation he arranged seminars and meetings, and prepared several limited circulation reports, addressing the regional indigenous leaders and offering insights into upcoming problems and potential directions for solutions. In the process, he became a valued friend to many in the Cree communities.

These applied initiatives led to a series of projects on aspects of long-term development in the James Bay region, undertaken by Salisbury and by a diverse group of colleagues and students working with him. Taken together, their studies and reports constitute one of the major documented case studies in the social science literature of the processes of large-scale, long-term change, and one of the best known examples of applying anthropology. They go some way towards redefining the role and practice of applied anthropology in Canada and beyond.

The integration which Richard Salisbury sought is clear in his last book, in which he drew the results of these projects together, A Homeland for the Cree: Regional Development in James Bay, 1971-81 (1986). This book represents a particularly ambitious undertaking. Addressed to all of the sectors engaged in development, local indigenous peoples, academics, government planners, and politicians, it shows each specialized audience the connections between its

focussed concerns and holistic responses. In attempting and accomplishing this, it foregoes some of what could have been accomplished by four different books and reports. By finding a voice and a language with which to speak with coherence to many readerships, it accomplishes what four separate publications could never have undertaken, to make the connections. The study provides a bold and innovative model for continued elaboration. Richard Salisbury's death denied him that opportunity. But the essence of the possibility for a renewed professional integration was exemplified in his career, his teaching and his writings.

The qualities which are at the center of Richard Salisbury's contributions to the discipline, and which would form a key to any full assessment of his work, are this personal integrity, intellectual rigour, and social concern, and the unique unity and balance he gave these throughout his career and in his dealings with others. It is this integrity which was one of his most extra-ordinary intellectual and practical accomplishments, and it forms a core of his intellectual legacy.

He showed that the personal and moral commitments we hold can be integrated with scholarly and professional obligations. He showed that truth and morality are joined, and that service to fellow humans is coincident with individual fulfillment. He encouraged a vision and a commitment in others to seek to fulfill these human potentials. He showed that the seamless holism of domains of thought and action, which philosophers associate with the roots of the human condition, and which anthropologists associate with many of the small scale communities which we study, can also be created in our own midst in the contemporary world.

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Richard F. Salisbury (1926-1989): la passion de l'application des connaissances.

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Bien des anthropologues pratiquent leur métier toute leur vie durant sans jamais essayer d'appliquer leurs connaissances à la solution des problèmes qui se posent dans les sociétés où ils travaillent. Chez Dick, ce fut là au contraire une préoccupation continue, et ce depuis son premier travail en Nouvelle-Guinée, dans sa recherche moins connue sans doute mais fort stimulante d'analyse institutionnelle réalisée dans un hôpital psychiatrique de Boston au début des années 60, ainsi que dans ses recherches et interventions des années 70 et 80 auprès des populations amérindiennes du Canada, et plus spécialement auprès des Cree de la Baie James. Ce sont les phénomènes de transformation sociale et de dynamique culturelle qui ont véritablement passionné Dick: il a de tout temps manifesté dans sa pratique anthropologique le souci de mieux comprendre de quelle manière l'adoption ou l'imposition par la force d'un style de vie occidental contribuait à modifier l'architecture globale des sociétés traditionnelles, y faisant apparaître des problèmes nouveaux face auxquels les populations se sentaient souvent démunies.

Quel que soit le problème social, économique ou culturel que Richard Salisbury ait contribué à solutionner comme chercheur ou comme consultant, il semble l'avoir fait en s'inspirant tout au long de sa carrière d'un cadre conceptuel qui intégrait trois idées forces. En bon fonctionnaliste déçu des per-

spectives britanniques classiques, il a dès les débuts de ses recherches chez les Siane de Nouvelle-Guinée, découvert que cette société était dans un "état de non-equilibre", et il a conservé cet angle d'approche dans toutes ses études ultérieures. Ce non-équilibre s'exprimait surtout pour Dick dans les bouleversements technologiques et économiques mais aussi dans les questions de langue et de religion, deux domaines de recherche qui ont passionné notre collègue, surtout durant la période 1956-1970 durant laquelle il s'est quasi-exclusivement limité aux recherches en Nouvelle-Guinée, recherches qui ont été marquées par la publication de deux livres importants qui ont établi la réputation de Richard Salisbury en tant que spécialiste de l'anthropologie économique.

Le deuxième concept qui fut central dans la pensée et la pratique anthropologique de Dick est celui "d'intérêt commun". Pour solutionner un problème au sein d'une population qui est divisée par diverses factions, il a toujours cherché à insister sur le fait que chacune des parties impliquées devait y trouver des bénéfices. Inspiré par un puissant pragmatisme, il a fait de cette notion d'intérêt commun un pilier de sa pratique anthropologique. Dans les dernières conversations que j'ai eues avec Dick sur la question particulièrement controversée du statut du Québec dans l'ensemble canadien, il mettait continuellement de l'avant l'importance de chercher une solution du côté de la mise en évidence des avantages mutuels de la continuation de la vie commune: il avait le sentiment qu'il existait de part et d'autre un refus de se situer dans une perspective de recherche des intérêts communs. Ces deux premiers concepts me semblent s'être appuyés chez Dick sur l'idée qu'il fallait chercher des solutions aux problèmes sur la base des stratégies endogènes développées par les populations elles-mêmes. Déjà, au début des années 60, il avait montré que le processus d'adaptation à la vie urbaine se faisait chez les Siane de Nouvelle-Guinée sur la base des patterns développés en milieu rural. Cet effort d'élucidation des stratégies d'adaptation privilégiées par une société l'a amené à s'intéresser à la dimension historique, à la fois du point de vue de l'ancrage du présent dans le passé socioculturel mais aussi du point de vue des projets futurs qu'une société souhaitait pour elle-même. C'est dans ce contexte de proximité avec l'autre qu'il faut situer ses dernières réflexions sur la question du "homeland" pour les Cree et son interrogation non terminée sur le Québec et le Canada en tant que "maison divisée".

Pour le professeur Salisbury, le rôle le plus authentique de l'anthropologue était celui d'intermédiaire entre des partis rivaux, entre des factions: il lui appartenait d'être en quelque sorte l'ombudsman social et l'interprète qui devait traduire les positions d'une partie à l'autre, dans la recherche continue d'une entente basée sur les intérêts communs. Pour remplir un tel rôle, il faut beaucoup de qualités sur le plan des relations sociales, il faut aussi posséder les codes de communications propres à chacun des groupes impliqués dans le conflit et la recherche d'une solution. Ce rôle de "broker" culturel et linguistique, Dick l'a immensément rempli, non seulement dans ses travaux d'anthropologie appliquée mais également au sein du département d'anthropologie de l'Université McGill, dans la mesure où il fut sans nul doute parmi nos collègues anglophones de Montréal celui qui s'est le plus explicitement rapproché des milieux anthropologiques francophones.

On peut noter chez Dick un souci continu de mieux comprendre l'environnement intellectuel immédiat dans lequel il vivait à Montréal et au Québec, et de faire régulièrement le point sur les orientations principales qui lui semblaient dominer dans l'anthropologie. En 1976, Dick écrivit un court texte sur l'anthropologie anglophone au Québec et, en 1984, il contribue à l'ouvrage de synthèse sur les sciences sociales au Québec avec un texte dont le titre interrogatif traduit bien l'état d'esprit qui a été le sien jusqu'à la fin de sa vie: "Le Québec: microcosme du monde ou monde en soi?" C'est dans le prolongement de ses interrogations sur l'anthropologie québécoise francophone que furent conduites mes dernières conversations avec Dick: il s'agissait de produire, à la demande des éditeurs de la revue *Anthropologica*, un numéro spécial sur "Anthropology made in Québec". Ce numéro qu'il devait coordonner avec Marc-Adélard Tremblay et moi-même sera dédié à sa mémoire.

Son souci de l'Autre et le respect qu'il en avait a amené Dick Salisbury à s'impliquer au niveau de la défense des intérêts de la profession d'anthropologue. Il a donné beaucoup de temps à ses collègues et n'a pas craint d'assumer des rôles de responsabilité dans nos associations professionnelles. Il l'a fait chaque fois avec un grand sens éthique et avec le souci d'appliquer à l'espace anthropologique les principes mis de l'avant dans ses recherches.

Il peut apparaître curieux que le dernier texte publié par R. Salisbury ait été dédié à Stendhal. Au-

delà du fait que ce texte ait pu lui être imposé par les devoirs de sa charge de doyen, on peut y voir un symbole: Stendhal fut en quelque sorte un écrivain de l'exil, dont les meilleurs livres furent non seulement écrits ailleurs que dans le pays natal mais qui de plus traitaient des manières de vivre rencontrées dans le pays d'adoption. On peut légitimement penser que Dick s'est de fait reconnu dans cet écrivain de l'exil.

Richard Salisbury's Anthropology: A Personal Account

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Richard Salisbury was our friend, mentor, colleague and clan elder[1]. He will no doubt play an important role in the "origin myth" of our anthropological society, and it is unfortunate that he should be taken from us at a time when we would benefit from his wisdom and direction. We have a new name for our group, the Canadian Anthropology Society, and are trying to establish new directions for anthropology in Canada. His guidance and thoughtful suggestions will be missed. In academic circles, Richard Salisbury will no doubt be known for his three books, *From Stone to Steel* (1962), *Vunamami* (1969), and *A Homeland for the Cree* (1986). He played an important role in the developing field of economic anthropology, especially in his attempts to quell the furor generated by the substantivist–formalist debate. As he indicated in his summary of issues in the *Annual Review of Anthropology* in 1973: "The possibility of sterile debate is clearly present, if polarization proceeds further. What may be ignored is the degree of complementarity between the analyses" (1973: 92).

Throughout his academic career, this search for "complementarity", or a middle ground on which disputing parties could find a basis of common or mutual understanding, was one of his important contributions to anthropology. Take, for example, his study of "The Anthropologist as Societal Ombudsman" in David Pitt's book, *Development From Below* (1976). This study is essentially an analysis of how disputes involving the Cree of northern Quebec and the Tolai of New Guinea might be settled. Both of these activities, as Salisbury indicates, "imply a somewhat new conception of the role of the anthropologist as an intermediary in trouble situations between central agencies and local groups" (1976: 255). It is work such as this that begins the process of charting out a new course for anthropology - what one might call an applied anthropology with a humane face. But he also made it clear that anthropology would be best served if anthropologists avoided choosing sides in conflict situations. As he explains:

> I am convinced that when an anthropologist commits himself to one side only, he nullifies many of the benefits that his professional training could give to that side. He is not able to retain any confidence from the other side and so is unlikely to make an accurate analysis of that side's point of view, while any analysis he makes of his own side's point of view is unlikely to carry weight with the other side (1976: 257).

This thoughtful commentary has much relevance for the future course of our discipline. The current Hopi–Navajo land dispute could serve as an instructive case study of the dilemma faced by contemporary anthropology, as anthropologists line up in support of various causes, without sufficient thought given to the role that anthropology can serve in bringing about a cessation to the conflict. Surely Salisbury's warning is that we must avoid becoming active participants in disputes because it will only further exacerbate the problem, ultimately undermining any contribution that anthropology might make to solving human problems[2].

What emerges from Salisbury's work overall is a consistent concern with human problems in the face of large–scale changes brought about by outside influences. The study of Saine economic and political change in *From Stone to Steel* (1962) remains a classic work in this regard. However, the deleterious effects of outside pressures is pursued in a more vigorous fashion in his important *American Anthropologist* article entitled "Despotism and Australian Administration in the New Guinea Highlands" (1964). He clearly indicates that:

> Although the indigenous ideology was one of democratic equality and competition, the empirical situation at this time [of fieldwork in 1953 and 1961] was one of serial despotism by powerful leaders" (1964: 225).

The controversial issue that Salisbury raises concerns "the apparent totalitarianism that seems to be universal in the first stages of developing nations" (1964: 239). There is no doubt that many anthropologists would prefer the view of indigenous New Guinea leaders as democratic and checked in any attempt at firm rule, but it is a testament to the integrity of the man that he should stake his professional reputation on his own convictions derived from thorough fieldwork.

Salisbury's move to McGill University in the early 1960's continued his emphasis on basic research coupled with attempts to place research in a more general context of discussion. This interaction between research and theory ultimately led to new directions in the application of anthropological studies to the study of public policy. His address to the National Social Science Conference in 1975 was an important attempt to push the social sciences more firmly into the area of governmental decision–making. In his paper "Policy Regarding Native People: An Academic Social Scientist's Perspective", we are led to the realization that:

> if the verdict on social science knowledge is that there is a large store of it, that much of it is related to outdated issues, and that what is relevant to current policy issues is not recognized as applicable, the question of how far it is used in policy making is very simple to answer. Hardly at all (1975a: 3).

But, despite this pronouncement, the paper maintains an optimistic, or more precisely, an encouraging perspective. "The problem", he says, "is how co–existence can work equitably...Everyone needs knowledge of how to resolve conflicts" (1975a: 2).

This theme of anthropology in pursuit of "policy–relevant research ... as the best guarantee of a strong basic social science in the future" (1975a: 12) finds further expression in Salisbury's presentation to the Royal Society of Canada in 1979. In his paper called "Application and Theory in Canadian Anthropology: The James Bay Agreement", he puts forward the argument that:

> the present high international status accorded to Canadian applied anthropology can be related to its strong emphasis on theory ... and to the mutual trust that has developed in Canada between researchers and policy–makers (1979a: 229).

One suspects that the "mutual trust" to which Salisbury refers is largely a result of his ombudsman role in bringing forward basic research on Cree communities and presenting this in a language that the governmental personnel involved in the formulation of the James Bay Agreement could understand. In this way he was able to evoke trust and confidence from both parties - the Cree and Quebec government officials - involved in the search for an equitable settlement to the dispute.

Salisbury has certainly set high standards that will be difficult to emulate, but it is also part of his legacy that he left us with a role model which is imbued with the admirable qualities of intelligence, empathy for others, and the sense of integrity that he brought to his life's work. The enduring strength of his work largely emanates from the fact that he never became aloof or autocratic, despite his success. He relied on the enduring strength of anthropology itself: field work, participation, and knowledge gained through first–hand experience. As Salisbury indicates in a paper called "The North as a Developing Nation", delivered to the 8th Northern Development Conference, held at Edmonton in 1979:

> The parallel between the north and the Third World is for me so clear that I hope I may be excused in presenting it in terms of personal experience. I began my field research into Third World Development in 1952 in Papua New Guinea...During my year living in a village three days walk out from the airstrip, I experienced all the frustrations of there being no "infrastructures", no stores, no regular mail, no roads, no one to repair broken typewriters unless you filed your own pieces of metal to replace what wore out, and learned why you have to have a patient attitude to schedules if you are to exist without ulcers (1979b: 1-2)

Richard Salisbury never forgot what it was like to do fieldwork, and this is the source of perhaps his greatest contribution to anthropology – the sense of excitement for doing anthropology that he instilled in a generation of anthropology students. Above all, Salisbury was a gifted teacher and communicator - and he led by example. The Programme in the Anthropology of Development at McGill (PAD), which he directed for over two decades, was the centre of academic life for graduate students who now find themselves in anthropology departments, government and in industry across Canada and the world. He gave students financial and intellectual

support, insisting always that basic research be placed in the larger context of practical and theoretical issues.

There is much that went on behind the scenes, that no one ever heard about – but his students remember. He was not coercive or meddlesome. He let you make mistakes and to learn from them. But always you knew he was there, thinking about his students, whether they were in Labrador, Ethiopia, New York City or anywhere else. To give a personal example, in the mid–1970's I embarked on a field trip to an Ojibwa village in northern Ontario. This was a community without roads or cars, telephones or television. It was a log cabin village of hunters and trappers, where the Ojibwa language was still spoken all the time. It was the sort of place where an anthropology student could soon forget why he was there in the first place, given the constant search for firewood and food. Through it all, Salisbury's (1975b) letters kept me in touch with a sense of purpose, encouraging me on with "gentle reminders"[3].

By the end of winter in 1975, when I had almost forgotten what money was, since I lacked most of the usual avenues for spending it, the following letter arrived:

> May 22, 1975
> Dear Ed:
>
> We decided to make you an award of a nine months research assistantship (currently the rate for Ph.D. students is $325 per month) after you return from the field. Although this will presumably be in September, we are beginning the period of payment in June to make use of some expiring funds. We hope that you will not object to having a nest egg on your return from the field. Good wishes with the fieldwork.
>
> Dick.

Now that I felt financially secure, if not down right wealthy, at $325 a month, I was able to continue my field work with renewed vigour. However, in July I received a letter that I now view as the pivotal point in the development of my dissertation, and perhaps in my career. It was the sort of letter that served to crystallize my work, to infuse it with a sense of purpose and direction:

> July 4th, 1975
> Dear Ed,
>
> I would add a gentle reminder about the possible usefulness of reports. You obviously have ideas about a) different perceptions of development b) the role of leaders, their perceptions and followers' perceptions, and c) the organization of productive tasks. Are you sure you are writing these ideas down? Are you discussing them with people in the field? One month from now will you remember how your thinking developed now, so that you could trace out that development? Are you confident you have the right data to be able to support your ideas in the arena of a thesis defense, seminar paper, discussion with colleagues? All of these questions, if you answer "no" to any of them, suggest to me that writing down in very preliminary form what you are thinking and formalising would assist you in many ways.
>
> At a minimum I am suggesting that sitting down and "talking" to paper (at a time like when it is raining, or when you feel depressed) and trying to think abstractly about the practical reality which you are very tightly involved in, is useful in focusing your work as you go along. It is easy to get right out of academic, theoretical thinking completely.
> Good luck, and I hope to hear from you
>
> Dick.

This is the letter that has acted as a sort of touchstone for all the other work that I've done since. Every once and a while I pull it out, not in a sentimental way, but as a manual or set of guide–lines for doing the job right. Actually there is a follow up to this letter which arrived a month later, containing the same sort of useful advice:

> August 25th, 1975
> Dear Ed,
>
> I enjoyed your August 18th letter. If you have short pieces written on all the topics you list, you need only some editing to have the bulk of a thesis. I can't really comment, of course, without seeing them, but they seem to indicate some creative and empirical thinking about the interplay of local and national actions over development issues. Have you looked back at some of the early ones, comparing them with later ones to see how your thinking has developed? Or to see how mutually consistent the early and late ones are?
> Good luck, Dick

When graduate students returned from the field, our discussions continued, centred around PAD offices at 3434 McTavish. They also took place in each other's apartments, since many of us were residents, at one time or another, of the infamous 'student ghetto' east of McGill. Dick Salisbury was a frequent visitor at these gatherings, usually sitting on the floor with four or five students gathered around. Who can forget those sparkling eyes, wavy black hair combed straight back, the omnipresent bow tie, or those large hands poised in mid air?

PAD's monograph series was another mechanism of support; most of these reports were co–authored by Salisbury and his students and evaluated the results of various field studies, including the social impacts of the hydro–electric proposals, the use of subsistence resources, development attitudes in the Mackenzie District, communications in Paint Hills, training and jobs among James Bay Cree and so on. It was these reports that taught us how to organize ideas and to prepare the results of our field work for a larger audience. We also knew that, with Salisbury's name on many of them, and with his backing of them all, academics would treat them as serious research documents.

These were all aspects of a valuable training experience. In fact, Salisbury wrote about this in a 1977 paper to the Canadian Ethnology Society Meetings in Halifax entitled, "Training Applied Anthropologists – The McGill Programme in the Anthropology of Development 1964–1976". The results of the training programme over this period are impressive:

> The 25 students who have done fieldwork under PAD auspices include 12 now teaching, 7 in research or administration, 4 full–time students, and 2 dropouts. Eight have Ph.D.'s. Eighteen have some consulting experience" (1977: 1).

Of course many more students were to go through the PAD programme over the ensuing decade, although figures on the turn out here have not, to my knowledge, been compiled. In all, it would be reasonable to say that it is these students who currently form a fair proportion of the Society for Applied Anthropology in Canada's (SAAC) membership.

In his last major work, *A Homeland for the Cree* (1986), Salisbury summed up his thoughts on "Anthropologists and the Cree" in this final paragraph:

> The relation of trust that they [the Cree and the anthropologists] have worked out, of willingness to use anthropologists for appropriate tasks, and of collaboration with studies by outsiders if the studies seem relevant, is one aspect of Cree confidence in their dealings with the wider world. Anthropologists can feel happy at the role they have played in the emergence of a regional society – the Cree homeland" (1986: 156).

The profound and enriching impact of Richard Salisbury's relationship with the Cree was representative of his influence on everyone with whom he came into contact, not least of all his students. We are diminished by his absence, but sustained by the memory of his excellence. If I might be permitted to end on a personal note: good luck, Dick, wherever your research has taken you now.

NOTES

1. A previous version of this paper was presented to the "Richard F. Salisbury Memorial Session" of the Canadian Anthropology Society meetings, Calgary, 1990. I wish to thank Stan Barrett for his thoughtful comments on the initial draft of the manuscript.

2. This is not meant to imply, of course, that anthropologists should not take a stand against injustice, poverty, racism or other significant social issues. The danger is that objectivity in the form of fence-sitting can lead to support for whomever has power. In this context, Salisbury can be credited with opening up an important area of debate within the discipline regarding the appropriate role of the anthropologist in the modern world, even though a consensus has not been reached on the characteristics of this role or how it might be enacted.

3. This fieldwork provided the basis for several publications which were inspired by Salisbury's own research in applied anthropology, such as studies of government Indian policy (Hedican, 1982), northern economic trends (1985), anthropologists and social involvement (1986a), as well as a book on Ojibwa leadership and economic development (1986b). Needless to say, it was with considerable pride that I was able to send him copies of my work.

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Some Thoughts on Regional Developement and the Canadian North in the Work of Richard F. Salisbury

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I enrolled at McGill for graduate studies in anthropology in 1976, drawn mainly by the work of Dick Salisbury and his students at the Programme in the Anthropology of Development on issues confronting the James Bay Cree. The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, the first comprehensive settlement of a modern aboriginal claim in Canada, had recently been concluded. I had gained some limited experience with indigenous communities in northern Saskatchewan and southern Venezuela, and was interested in how hunting societies could oppose the deleterious effects of metropolitan development. An anti-development rhetoric that combined elements of Indian rights activism, neo-Marxism, and environmentalism had already strongly shaped my outlook.

As Dick let me know in our very first conversation, he thought that my view of the politics of development was overly polarized. He insisted that although development meant different things to different social actors, the differences were not as irreconcilable as I imagined. He pointed out that northern native people wanted many of the things valued in EuroCanadian culture, but on terms that would allow continuity of their own traditions. Development was not a zero-sum competition for a limited good; there were ways for all parties to come out winners.

I thought Dick's view of the world was too optimistic, assumed too much liberal *decency* on the part of social actors; and I certainly let him know. If this ever taxed his patience, he never lost his humour. He was adept at seizing the right opportunity to inject an unsettling comment, question, or fact that as often as not left me with the feeling that *he* was the realist, not I.

Human values were incontestably the heart of Dick's enterprise. In seminars, he defined development as social change that enhanced the circumstances of life from the viewpoint of the local participants. Development, furthermore, must improve participants' ability to control those circumstances, and must respect participants' wishes for continuity as well as innovation. Decision-making, he wrote, "should be ideally in the hands of the people affected by the decision, but in practice be decentralized to as low a level in any organization as possible (1972a:5)."

On strategy, Dick's position was clear: "confrontation doesn't get you anywhere" — words heard more than once as we discussed current events in Indian politics. His approach was transactional, that each party be able to formulate its position in the best possible knowledge of the perceptions and expectations of others, and that out of such transactions the structure of future relationships could be influenced for the better (1977a, 1979b). This, he felt, could result in development without jeopardy to the autonomy of any party to the process. He expected that people could be convinced to take the interests of others into account, in their own long-term interest. Of the James Bay case, he wrote:

> The challenge to the anthropologist — concerned with cultural and sub-group differences, was one of showing what were the different pay-offs to different sub-groups, of a solu-

> tion that was acceptable to all. Some parties may not have obtained the maximum that they might have obtained from a purely self-centred strategy, but that would have been at the expense of other sub-groups and, we would argue, also to their own long-term disadvantage, as they would have alienated the parties whom they would have "oppressed". Over the long term, there would have been major strife in the area" (1983a:17).

To show how all parties could benefit from a non-antagonistic transaction of their own interests in relation to others — this was the professional as well as the ethical standard that Dick preferred.

Anthropologists seeking change needed to direct their attention simultaneously to micro- and macro-levels in the development process. A major finding of contemporary anthropology, Dick felt, was that understanding and changing any social situation "requires a knowledge not only of the internal dynamics of the situation but also of the nature of the macrosystem which provides parameters for the situation (1976:257)." Anthropological theory should pay special attention, he argued, to "how local level changes can produce national level consequences (ibid:263)."

Dick's perspective on development in northern Canada was intimately related to his experience in third world contexts. In the decolonizing world, he observed (1979a), independence had resulted in some positive benefits: better terms negotiated between new national governments and foreign business; boosts to local economies and human skills as nation-state bureaucracies and infrastructures were developed; and increased GNP's. But there were also some negative features of social change that afflict the third world that Dick believed we might avoid in northern Canada: the creation of white collar elites in the midst of populations of underemployed poor; the accelerated flow of people to better-serviced centres; and the weakening of the existing food-producing economy.[1]

The key to realizing the benefits while avoiding the negative features would be the development of effective, decentralized, representative government(s) in the North, having the power to provide real solutions to northern problems — which meant control over natural resource use that provinces have (ibid). Development in the Canadian north would necessarily involve some large, localized industrial projects that were non-labour intensive. These could not directly provide a basis for the economic development of indigenous communities. But investment funds and revenues generated by large projects could and should contribute to offsetting ecological effects, and providing services for the dispersed food-production system in northern regions. Negotiations and cooperation between northern governments and industries, investors and technologists would enable the service economy to expand its base beyond that provided by the subsistence economy; while the decisions of a local government with wide local support would provide conditions of predictability for industry (ibid). Modern services, controlled by regional northern governments, were reasonable exchange for Canada's claim to exist from sea to sea (Salisbury 1986b:517), and for economic benefits from large-scale development projects that northern regional populations could not undertake independently.

Northern natives' desire for modern services and transfers, on terms that would permit them to adapt their economies over time and in their own way, was crucial in finding "solutions acceptable to all" to crises provoked by industrial development projects. Dick was critical of research that he felt ignored this middle ground:

> The picture of a land-based native economy opposing an industrial economy that Berger paints is simplistic and would have been helped by a more quantitative treatment, including transfers and services (1977b:15).

A social science analysis, Dick held, would be less black-and-white (although he acknowledged that black-and-white could be effective at conveying a political message to the public, advocating particular policies, or developing a strong court case).

These general views were of course shaped by Dick's particular involvement in research and recommendations regarding hydroelectric development at James Bay in the early 1970's. The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA) in 1975 represented, to Dick, a major experiment in decentralized regional development (1983c). Local people would need to be in charge of providing services to their communities, of maintaining the conditions for land-based production, and of creating a productive modern sector. Direct negotiation with native political organizations would precipitate the corporate entities and bureaucratic arrangements needed for the task, and develop the necessary skills. The required financial and advisory support would flow as compensation and as legal commitments undertaken by external business and government (1979b).

Dick's evaluation was that the JBNQA was in fact a success in many important respects. While he was disturbed that social and ecological impacts tended to get inadequate consideration before hydro development decisions were taken on purely technical or financial grounds, the JBNQA did show, he

felt, that the social costs and benefits of development can be balanced via negotiation (1980). "Limited good", "zero-sum" thinking was largely circumvented, and positive changes in Cree society brought about, thanks to the presence of corporate bodies or "structures" (initially, the provincial Indians of Quebec Association; later, the regional Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec) that served as vehicles for shaping a "common interest" out of the crisis of hydro-electric development. The existence of structures permitted action to be taken, court cases to be initiated, research to be conducted, communities to be consulted, and a consensus to be expressed to outsiders. In due course, a variety of corporate arrangements emerged that were seen to be both "legitimate" Cree entities, and effective in administering the rights and benefits secured in negotiations (1983e).

The development of these arrangements was the subject of Dick's last book, *A Homeland for the Cree* (1986a). Here he argued that changes to Cree society between 1971 and 1981 were an "emergent outgrowth from their preexisting society and culture (ibid:vii)", and that the development of a regional Cree society was a process in which Cree had acted as architects, and not merely in reaction to external forces. Factors both internal and external had made this possible: the good will of Quebec and Canadian governments to decentralize governmental powers to a region; the Cree consciousness of regional unity provoked by the crisis of hydroelectric development; the availability of local personnel to operate emergent structures; a regime of services and transfers that made possible the maintenance of a viable local subsistence economy, as well as growth in administration and services; and predictability of resources and programs enunciated in legal, implementable terms enshrined in the JBNQA.

Dick believed that anthropologists had helped to put local native people on a more equal footing with government bureaucracy and industry in negotiating development, but not by advocating the interests of one side only. As "societal ombudsmen" (Salisbury 1976) we had to promote both sides' comprehension of the other's perception of development, of the social and ecological effects of development, and of possible courses of action. Dick believed that we could not perform this function efficiently if we became committed to one side only:

> I am convinced that when an anthropologist commits himself to one side only, he nullifies many of the benefits that his professional training could give to that side. He is not able to retain any confidence from the other side and so is unlikely to make an accurate analysis of that side's point of view, while any analysis he makes of his own side's point of view is unlikely to carry weight with the other side (ibid:257).

To an important degree, Dick felt that Cree had come to share these research values, noting their express appreciation of complete and honest research — even if findings were sometimes initially unpalatable — as essential to sound decision-making (1986a).

The "professional ethic of scientific impartiality and openness (1976:260)" was questioned by those of Dick's colleagues who believed that the realpolitik of development situations often required strategic use of information, in line with the objectives of activist advocacy. But both the integrity of Dick's approach, and its pragmatic value, have remained extremely persuasive.

So far as I am aware, Dick did not waver in his optimism for reasonable and decent outcomes among parties who, despite conflicting goals or inaccurate stereotypes of each other, were generally well-meaning. It was the kind of world he wanted; and it was, therefore, life as he himself transacted it.

Notes

1 Salisbury et al (1972a) included some of the first systematic research demonstrating the continued crucial importance of the subsistence economy, while also showing that population growth, absent important growth in wage employment opportunities through development, would have led to economic crisis within the decade.

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La genèse du discours nationaliste chez les Maoris [1]

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This article shows how the New Zealand Maori groups have succeeded in uniting themselves during the XIXth century by utilizing some newly introduced Christian concepts given them by missionaries. These concepts and symbols were manipulated in two ways in order: a) to create an homogenous ideological Maori specificity as opposed to the Whites; b) to lessen or to ignore the elements which internally divided and separated the various Maori groups.

Cet article montre comment les divers groupes maoris de Nouvelle Zélande ont réussi à s'unifier au XIX^e siècle en utilisant certains concepts de la religion chrétienne introduits par les missionnaires. Ces concepts et symboles furent manipulés de deux manières pour créer à la fois une spécificité maorie globale face aux Européens tout en effaçant ou en minimisant ce qui divisait intérieurement les divers groupes maoris entre eux.

1. *Du nationalisme au général*

Née d'une nouvelle vision de l'homme, offerte par la comparaison inter-culturelle, l'anthropologie a boudé par le passé l'analyse du nationalisme. Les rares anthropologues qui se sont occupés du problème (p. ex. Gellner, 1983:42) l'ont traité comme phénomène transitoire, créé par un prolétariat déraciné, essentiellement linguistique et auquel s'opposent la plupart des intellectuels. Louis Dumont (1983) l'admet comme modalité de la pensée contemporaine mais l'explique comme issue de l'idéologie germanique du 18^e siècle.

Lévi-Strauss (1983: ch. I) alla donc un peu à contre-courant quand il donna au nationalisme une valeur générale en soi. Son texte s'élève contre «une civilisation mondiale, destructrice de ces vieux particularismes auxquels revient l'honneur d'avoir créé les valeurs esthétiques et spirituelles qui donnent son prix à la vie».

Le nationalisme aurait-il donc le rôle positif de préserver ces vieux particularismes? Lévi-Strauss ne le dit pas. Il est pourtant certain que le nationalisme leur rend des hommages presque sans réserves afin de les rétablir dans la vie contemporaine. Je pense cependant qu'une rupture historique profonde

sépare ces particularismes anciens de toute identité nationale. Une fois que les vieilles cultures, les vieilles civilisations sont mortes ou en pleine décadence, le nationalisme leur donne un nouveau souffle, mais sous une forme essentiellement différente. L'objet de cette étude est d'analyser ce processus de transformation, donc de voir comment un vieux particularisme nourrit un nationalisme moderne et s'y rétablit.

Je dois d'abord définir mes termes. Le «particularisme» d'une culture est l'ensemble des qualités objectives qui la distinguent d'autres cultures connues. Il peut survivre indépendamment de nos sentiments et même de notre conscience et sans devenir l'objet des représentations de notre moi collectif. Il s'explique par les processus historiques de l'invention, de la transmission et de la transformation des biens culturels.

Le «nationalisme», par contre, se définit le plus souvent par des qualités entièrement subjectives : le sentiment national, la conscience nationale, l'identité nationale. Berlin (1979 : 338) pense que c'est une idéologie qui élève l'unité et l'autodétermination de la nation au rang de valeur suprême et prioritaire. Quand la patrie est en danger, presque tous les citoyens deviennent, en effet, nationalistes. Quand la nation a subi une blessure profonde, inoubliable, le nationalisme peut devenir pour eux un sentiment continu et pénétrant. D'autre part, il peut devenir également un système de pensée fournissant à la collectivité lésée une vision de la vie autour de laquelle elle puisse se rétablir. Une telle vision comprend souvent une synthèse nouvelle d'éléments anciens, faite pour justifier la résistance opposée aux forces menaçantes. Elle se construit une idéologie comme centre nouveau d'identification.

Le terme «nationalisme» s'applique aussi à certains mouvements du Tiers-Monde qui ont développé des concepts super-tribaux pour exprimer l'unité politique, idéologique et militaire d'une alliance de tribus cohabitant dans un territoire relativement étendu. Mues par une blessure collective infligée par un ennemi externe, conscientes de leur interdépendance et de leur similarité relative, influencées aussi parfois par les nationalismes européens, ces tribus remodelèrent leurs discours et leurs comportements selon les principes d'une identité nationale.

Le nationalisme des Maoris de la Nouvelle-Zélande est un exemple de ces «inventions» récentes (Gellner, 1983 : 49). Il prit son essor quand ceux-ci commencèrent à se désigner collectivement comme «*te iwi maori*» (le peuple maori), à élaborer des mythes concernant leur histoire commune, et à s'allier dans certaines activités militaires dirigées contre les blancs (1850-60). On peut dire que l'homogénéité nationale est devenue, à ce moment, «impérative» (Gellner, 1983 : 39). La *genèse* du nationalisme se situe pourtant un peu plus tôt, au moment où certaines constructions rudimentaires s'établissent, dont s'inspirera par la suite le discours mythique de la nation. Or, Weber et Bourdieu insistent avec raison sur le fait que le discours nationaliste, essentiellement subjectif, n'exprime pas nécessairement la structure profonde de la culture en question. Si on se limite pourtant aux processus de la genèse, l'analyste peut se retrouver devant une praxis historique qui remit en question les structures profondes de la culture et qui les transforma (déforma?) de manière à les intégrer au vaste mouvement des structures mondiales.

Notons cependant que cette intégration se situe au plan des stratégies politiques bien plus que de la pensée profonde. Ainsi, la pensée nationaliste des Océaniens reste toujours très loin de l'ésotérisme herdérien, bien qu'elle affirme abondamment que la nation est immanente dans tous ses membres.

Du point de vue historique, tous les experts s'accordent pour dire que le nationalisme prit son essor aux 18e-19e siècles en Europe (Dumont, 1983 : ch. 4; Berlin, 1976 : 180-199, 1982 : 1-24; Delannoi et Morin,1987 : 223-229). Par contre, les cultures ressuscitées par le nationalisme sont souvent très anciennes et ont souvent perdu leurs bases institutionnelles depuis très longtemps. Ceci est vrai pour le nationalisme grec du 19e siècle, fondé sur le patrimoine de la Grèce antique (voir Herzfeld 1982 : 53-55), pour le zionisme du 19e siècle, fondé sur le patrimoine des anciens Hébreux (Hess 1858 : *passim*; Herzl 1889: *passim*), pour le nationalisme italien de Cavour, fondé sur le patrimoine des anciens Romains, pour le nationalisme écossais du 18e siècle, fondé sur le patrimoine des aèdes, dont l'aède imaginaire Ossian. Depuis 1935, les Basques définissent leur culture nationale directement en rapport avec l'espace mythico-rituel des chasseurs et des peintres néolithiques de leur pays. (Zulaika, 1986 : 35-37) Dans ces cas, le processus de transformation entre ces vieilles cultures et les conditions de leur reconstitution romantique-nationaliste serait difficile à reconstruire.

Dans d'autres cas, pourtant, ce processus de transformation était beaucoup plus rapide et plus immédiat. Car le colonialisme a envahi beaucoup de cultures tribales en pleine santé qui s'effondrèrent en quelques décennies après ce premier contact et qui devaient nourrir par la suite des mouvements nationalistes ressemblant étonnamment à ceux d'Europe. Dans ces cas de défaite aux mains d'une puissance occidentale, la société indigène devait découvrir simultanément le capitalisme historique, la religion transcendentale et le gouvernement étatique. Dans la crise d'identité qui s'ensuivit, une telle société développa souvent très vite l'idée de se reconstituer comme *nation* plutôt que comme ensemble de tribus séparées par des guerres internes et donc de se bricoler des sentiments nationaux, une conscience nationale et une identité nationale. On aurait tort de réduire tous les mouvements millénaristes des peuples opprimés au nationalisme et de les situer exclusivement sur le plan politique car le code religieux dans lequel ils préfèrent souvent s'exprimer n'est pas une mystification. Tout au contraire il va de soi qu'une société sans état ne peut pas, d'emblée, fabriquer un nationalisme *politique*, mais elle doit, à l'inverse, construire un concept religieux, voire transcendental, de la nation - forme politique dans laquelle les tribus doivent fusionner et sacrifier une bonne partie de leur identité - quitte à transformer ce concept religieux en concept politique aussitôt que la nation de leur rêve commence à se réaliser concrètement dans la vie institutionnelle.

D'autre part, du point de vue structural, notons que le nationalisme est né à l'époque du Siècle des Lumières VXIII[e] et le «capitalisme historique» selon Wallerstein (1985 : ch. I). Selon Berlin (1982 : 1-24), Vico, Herder et les autres nationalistes se constituèrent même en mouvement «contre-Lumières» qui remettait en question les valeurs suprêmes des Lumières - l'universalisme, le rationalisme, l'objectivisme, le déterminisme. Wallerstein argue, dans le même sens, que ces valeurs suprêmes du Siècle des Lumières étaient indispensables à l'épanouissement du capitalisme historique, mais que celui-ci était également responsable de deux types de mouvement «anti-systémique» évoluant au sein du «système mondial», c.-à.-d. les mouvements ouvriers socialistes et les mouvements nationalistes (1985 : 65). Wallerstein est «frappé par l'importance des similitudes structurelles qu'ont entretenues, dès le début, les deux types de mouvement» (1985 : 66). Il est d'avis que ceux-ci ont apporté beaucoup d'avantages à leurs membres. Cependant, en ce qui regarde les cultures minoritaires, il y a toujours eu «un taux assez élevé de corrélation entre l'appartenance ethnique et la situation socio-professionnelle» (ibid.). En plus de faire revivre certaines cultures anciennes, cette différenciation ethnique :

(1) a rendu possible la reproduction de la force de travail;
(2) l'intériorisation des différenciations ethniques a constitué un mécanisme spontané d'apprentissage de la force de travail;
(3) les différenciations ethniques ont enraciné dans les esprits une hiérarchie des rôles socio-professionnels (ibid. : 75-76)

Le discours nationaliste ne se fait donc pas seulement *contre* les Lumières, mais aussi en relation dialectique avec celles-ci. Il s'adresse simultanément aux valeurs de ses partisans, à celles de son opposition domestique et à celle des ennemis extérieurs à la nation. Cette tâche semble impossible ou presque : comment un discours peut-il être à la fois nationaliste et universaliste, subjectif et objectif, institutionniste et rationnel, miraculeux et déterministe? Tout discours nationaliste efficace est donc essentiellement plurivoque car il doit se prêter systématiquement et programmatiquement à (au moins) deux lectures : celle du vieux particularisme et celle des Lumières. Il doit leur permettre de coexister facilement dans l'esprit des mêmes individus. Le cas le plus simple de ce type de discours c'est de dire que Dieu est universel mais que, dans une guerre, il est de notre côté. La contradiction est incontournable, mais les deux discours coexistent facilement dans les mêmes esprits.

Moins simple, mais très courant, est le type de discours nationaliste qui catalogue l'inventaire des objets matériels et immatériels composant une vieille culture. Or, un tel inventaire cataloguant des valeurs toujours opposées à celles de la culture ennemie (Schwimmer 1972 : 125-145; 1986 : 150-154, 1987 : 99-111) n'est pas tout à fait comme un dossier ethnographique professionnel. Il y a des omissions : les éléments auxquels les membres actuels de la nation ne veulent plus s'identifier et les éléments dont on n'avait toujours parlé qu'en cachette. Il y a aussi des modifications d'inspiration politique : si on veut étudier la position des femmes et des parias dans l'Inde ancienne, on ne va pas consulter les discours nationalistes de Gandhi qui présentaient comme anciennes les idées très novatrices qu'il avait élaborées.

2. *Le cas maori : le système classique*

Avant l'arrivée du Capitaine Cook en 1769, la population maorie de la Nouvelle-Zélande , selon diverses estimations entre 100 000 et 300 000 personnes, réparties en plusieurs centaines de micro-sociétés largement indépendantes, appelées *hapuu*. Cette population, en pleine croissance démographique, avait commencé à se battre farouchement pour les terrains les plus convoités et, en conséquence, à transformer et à hiérarchiser les rapports entre les *hapuu*. Selon les analyses archéologiques récentes, notamment celles de Sutton, (1987 : *passim*), les *hapuu* se pliaient de plus en plus à l'autorité de certains grands chefs guerriers. Ainsi, après l'arrivée des blancs, l'ethnographie traditionnelle décrit la société maorie comme répartie en une quarantaine de tribus (*iwi*), présentées comme groupes de descendance ambilatérale dont les *hapuu* ne seraient que des segments. Ces chefs guerriers, appuyés par les *hapuu* qui leur étaient alliés, se faisaient la guerre autour de certains terrains clefs mais ils étaient loin d'envisager des conquêtes qui auraient en effet unifié le pays sous une seule autorité.

Soixante ans plus tard, la survie de cette culture était déjà gravement menacée par l'incursion des blancs qui avaient choisi ce pays fertile, d'un climat modéré et d'une superficie exploitable très considérable, comme terre de colonisation pour le prolétariat anglais. Cet article veut donc tracer la genèse du discours nationaliste chez les Maoris. Il veut décrire comment ce discours a choisi des éléments anciens, comment il emprunta des éléments d'origine blanche, comment il acquit sa plurivocité. Construire un tel discours, c'est en effet un acte de création. Dans le cas maori, ce fut l'oeuvre d'un homme génial, mystique, un peu jongleur, un peu poète, à l'esprit espiègle, mais aussi penseur profond, capable de réagir aux défis d'une situation historique complexe.

Avant d'analyser ces événements, précisons qu'il y avait dès l'arrivée des blancs des catégories de personnes disposées à accepter le message nationaliste et d'autres qui l'étaient beaucoup moins. On ne peut pas supposer, cependant, que la société maorie d'avant 1769 était dépourvue de telles contradictions et que celles-ci avaient donc une origine entièrement externe. Seulement, la culture classique est difficile à reconstruire. On doit se fier aux informations fragmentaires des premiers observateurs, à la comparaison inter-culturelle et surtout aux fouilles archéologiques. Je ne peux que résumer ici les résultats des reconstructions déjà disponibles, notamment celles de Davidson (1987 : *passim*), Sahlins (1985b : 200-206), Schrempp (1985, *passim*, 1987, *passim*); Schwimmer (1963 : 402-405; 1978 : 207-221), Sutton (1987, *passim*).

Dans ces reconstructions, on ne trouve aucune trace d'un discours «anti-systémique» si on veut définir ce concept dans le sens occidental habituel, c.-à.-d. comme un discours préféré par une catégorie ou par une classe particulière de personnes écartées du pouvoir qui veulent établir un pouvoir alternatif. Car la société maorie, on en convient, s'est toujours pensée comme une grande parentèle où tout le monde (dans le sens le plus précis : les hommes, les animaux, les plantes) est consanguin de tout le monde. D'autre part, les rapports hiérarchiques ont toujours été, on en convient aussi, la pierre angulaire de ce système. En principe, le monde se divise en aînés et cadets. Tout le lignage d'un aîné se classe comme aîné, tout le lignage du cadet se classe comme cadet. Le *mana* va aux aînés, le *tapu* les protège.

Ce système se prêtait - et se prête toujours - à deux formulations alternatives. D'abord, étant donné que le statut du fils est en principe supérieur à celui de la fille, on peut dire que ce système fonctionne comme s'il était patrilinéaire (Firth 1963). Les hommes s'établissaient donc, de préférence, dans le village de leur père, si bien que les utérins restaient plus éloignés, malgré tous les rapports chaleureux qu'on pouvait avoir avec eux. De plus, étant donné que les confédérations militaires-politiques du 18e siècle se structuraient selon le principe de la parenté, donc selon la hiérarchie des généalogies, ces confédérations (*iwi*) avaient comme chefs suprêmes (*ariki nui*) les aînés de la généalogie la plus aînée. Selon un certain discours idéologique, ces *iwi* étaient depuis le 18e siècle l'unité principale de l'organisation sociale maorie. La représentation cosmogonique qui s'accordait le mieux à ce discours social était celle qui faisait du dieu Tumatauenga l'aîné des fils du Ciel et de la Terre, maître plus ou moins absolu, comme l'ancêtre des hommes, de ses frères cadets dont la progéniture était des légumes, des oiseaux, des poissons, etc.

Selon la formulation alternative (Schrempp 1987 : 123 dit : «formulations chevauchantes»), il s'agit d'un système indifférencié où les utérins même très éloignés peuvent jouer un rôle de première importance, où les collectivités villageoises étaient en vérité assez indépendantes et où - sur le

plan cosmogonique - l'ancêtre de l'homme était Tanemahuta qui avait créé l'homme après beaucoup d'expériences ratées. Chacun de ces autres accouplements (avec des «principes féminins non-convenables») avait donné toutes sortes d'espèces naturelles qui étaient donc des enfants de Tanemahuta plutôt que des frères cadets. Tandis que Tumatauenga était le conquérant de la nature, Tanemahuta en était le père.

Depuis très longtemps, donc, ces deux perspectives - le discours hiérarchique et le discours égalisant - se chevauchent, se doublent et alternent dans la culture maorie. Elles s'expriment d'abord dans la mythologie, selon laquelle le ciel (Rangi) et la terre (Papa), cramponnés ensemble, forment toujours une unité indissoluble. Pourtant, leurs fils les ont séparés par la force, si bien que chaque fils réside désormais pour toujours auprès de l'un ou auprès de l'autre.

D'autre part, sur le plan pragmatique, ce système ne remettait jamais en question la prépondérance du *mana* de l'aîné et du *tapu* qui l'entourait, tout en laissant le cadet libre, s'il le pouvait, de renverser l'aîné et - tant bien que mal - de se constituer en aîné lui-même. Le renversement primordial fut pratiqué par Tumatauenga qui n'était pas *au début* l'aîné des fils du Ciel et de la Terre. À l'origine, l'aîné (Tawhirimatea) s'était allié au père lors de la séparation. Il avait attaqué ses cadets avec violence parce que ceux-ci s'étaient attachés à la Terre. Il avait battu les autres qui s'étaient enfuis un peu partout si bien que Tumatauenga fut le seul qui fit face à l'ennemi. Ce dernier décida de punir à son tour ses cadets peureux et devint ainsi leur aîné véritable. La ruse, la force, la capacité de protéger, de nourrir et de gérer peuvent renverser la hiérarchie au profit du cadet, car ses réussites font la preuve de son *mana* et de son lien avec les dieux. (Smith 1974 : ch. 6)[2]

Au plan économique, l'autorité des chefs maoris était limitée. Les roturiers, comme les chefs, n'avaient que des droits d'usufruit sur les terres, mais ils s'appropriaient les produits de leurs propres lopins. Pour certaines activités communales, le chef pouvait prélever certains produits, mais il ne pouvait pas les accumuler comme «bénéfices», privés. Son rôle était plutôt de les redistribuer au profit de la diplomatie extérieure et de l'aide sociale intérieure (Firth, 1959 : 284).

Le chef disposait normalement de terres plus étendues que celles des roturiers. Il était tenu de cultiver ses propres terres. Cependant, en autant qu'il rendait des services souvent dispendieux à sa communauté, il pouvait demander l'aide de sa parentèle, surtout pour la chasse et la pêche. Il s'agissait là évidemment des cadeaux tout à fait obligatoires (*ibid.* : 296). Ces produits étaient pourtant eux aussi voués principalement à la redistribution (*ibid.* : 298).

Notons que les ethnographes nous laissent une image assez ambiguë de ces relations hiérarchiques entre les chefs et les roturiers ainsi que de celles entre les hommes et les femmes. La plupart des ethnographes néo-zélandais (blancs ou maoris, peu importe) en accentuent surtout l'aspect égalitaire et la chaleur des sentiments. Des analystes étrangers, comme Serge Dunis (1984 : 197-211 et *passim*) arrivent souvent à des conclusions très différentes. Selon Dunis, les mythes et rites «se structurent sur la prohibition de l'inceste pour justifier la hiérarchie sociale». Les sacrifices «sont détournés au bénéfice de certains hommes». «La société maorie reposait sur l'exclusion des femmes»(*ibid.* : 210-1).

Heureusement, nous n'avons pas à trancher ce débat. Il nous suffit de reconnaître que l'incursion des blancs augmenta, dans un première phase, le fardeau des travaux communautaires imposé aux roturiers et aux femmes par les chefs, mais que ces chefs n'avaient évidemment pas le pouvoir de faire durer ce régime pour longtemps. Tout au contraire, ils perdirent avant le milieu du 19e siècle la plupart de leurs pouvoirs économiques. Je ne connais pas d'études approfondies sur l'histoire des relations hommes/femmes parmi les Maoris de la Nouvelle-Zélande mais celles-ci deviennent évidemment de plus en plus égalitaires.

3. *Les conditions du discours nationaliste parmi les Maoris*

La contradiction entre les idéologies hiérarchique et égalitaire s'exprime notamment dans deux stratégies très différentes qui fournissent le contexte du discours nationaliste des Maoris.

Regardons d'abord la genèse de ces stratégies. Il est bien connu que le capitalisme historique prit son essor en Nouvelle-Zélande avec le commerce des bois exotiques et du lin contre des armes à feu et que ces dernières étaient très convoitées pour alimenter les guerres inter-tribales. Du point de vue qui nous concerne, ces guerres ont eu deux résultats fondamentaux : (1) les tribus, c.-à.-d. les confédérations, se renforcèrent : le *chef* - celui qui achetait les armes à feu - pouvait compter sur la collaboration, et presque sur l'obéissance, de plusieurs collectivités alliées

dont la fidélité aurait été plus douteuse par le passé. On pourrait dire que «les alliances changeantes» (Wilson 1985 : 20) se stabilisèrent en «tribus» autour de certains grands chefs garants de l'approvisionnement en armes à feu; (2) les chefs renforcèrent leur exploitation des roturiers : tout en oeuvrant traditionnellement comme gérants de certaines démarches collectives (les rites, les fêtes, les guerres, la diplomatie, etc.), les nobles maoris n'avaient jamais établi de relations stables d'exploitation de la force de travail des roturiers avant la venue des blancs. Pourtant, les rapports entre les chefs et les fournisseurs blancs des armes à feu changèrent très vite la position des roturiers : ceux-ci étaient obligés de fournir au chef, avant l'arrivée de chaque navire apportant des provisions d'armes, la quantité prescrite d'arbres ou de lin ce qui représentait un travail continu de quelques mois. Lorsque ces conditions risquèrent de se perpétuer, ils se virent soudainement dans une situation tout à fait nouvelle de servitude virtuelle.

Il faut reconnaître à Ormond Wilson d'avoir compris le premier que les Maoris des années 1825-1840 n'étaient pas prêts à accepter ce type de passage au féodalisme et qu'ils se fatiguèrent donc très vite des guerres inter-tribales. Wilson (1985 : ch. 9) démontre que les conseils des missionnaires ont très peu influencé ce processus car il le retrouve chez les tribus sans missionnaire aussi bien que chez les tribus les plus christianisées. Parmi ces dernières, il trouve par ailleurs que les Maoris ont souvent invité des missionnaires chez eux, espérant que ceux-ci puissent arrêter les guerres. Ils laissaient ainsi aux missionnaires la responsabilité de faire la paix.

La résistance aux blancs commença au moment même où les roturiers, puis les chefs, étaient fatigués des guerres inter-tribales. Cette résistance ne provint, au début, ni des chefs principaux ni des roturiers mais des chefs mineurs, classifiés selon l'idéologie maorie comme frères cadets des grands chefs. Hone Heke, chef mineur, commence la résistance armée quand il abat à plusieurs reprises le mât portant le drapeau britannique à Kororareka. Ceci provoque une guerre où Hone Heke remporte deux victoires majeures avant d'être défait par les Britanniques. Ceux-ci n'auraient probablement même pas gagné la troisième bataille sans l'aide des troupes d'alliés maoris bien renseignés. Les grands chefs les avaient rassemblés pour battre Hone Heke. Ils étaient fort contents de s'allier à l'armée des blancs à cette fin. A la différence de Hone Heke, ils n'avaient pas encore conçu l'idée d'une nation maorie.

Mais cette idée, d'où vint-elle? Pour trouver la réponse, il faut surtout regarder les relations entre les Maoris et les missionnaires. Car ceux-ci étaient les intermédiaires principaux entre les Maoris et l'idéologie européenne de l'époque. Bien qu'ils fussent, comme les militaires, comme les commerçants, alliés objectifs du colonialisme, les chefs mineurs et les roturiers maoris trouvaient chez eux des alliances qui les protégeaient contre leurs propres chefs. D'abord, tous les Maoris sans distinction étaient convaincus du *mana* considérable des missionnaires et de la grande puissance de leur Dieu. Ensuite, les chefs mineurs et les roturiers étaient frappés par le fait que les missionnaires étaient prêts à partager au moins une partie de ce *mana* non pas seulement avec les grands chefs, mais aussi avec eux, sans prendre en considération leur différence de rang.

Cependant, les patriotes maoris qui résistaient à la conquête britannique se méfiaient de plus en plus du rôle joué par les missionnaires. Le premier qui leur opposa un défi majeur fut Papahurihia, dont nous allons analyser ici le discours nationaliste. Selon Wilson (1985 : 192) il est évidemment allé à l'école d'une mission religieuse. Ses idées ne nous sont parvenues que dans les rapports de seconde main recueillis en 1833-34 par des missionnaires. Il prétendit essentiellement que la Bible était vraie mais que les missionnaires en donnaient une interprétation erronée, dénaturant ainsi la parole de Dieu. Dans le système rituel de Papahurihia, le jour sacré est le samedi, la congrégation se réunit pendant la nuit, les cérémonies ont lieu sous un drapeau hissé au haut d'un mât. Celles-ci comprennent la lecture des parties de la Bible mais aussi des vieilles croyances dont les membres discutent entre eux.

Papahurihia déclarait que ses connaissances lui venaient des esprits des morts qui lui décrivaient le ciel, l'enfer et d'autres merveilles. Il avait élevé en dieu suprême le serpent de la Genèse. Celui-ci ne lui était connu que par le mot *Nakahi*, la translittération de l'hébreu (*nahash*). Il s'agit donc d'un néologisme inventé par les missionnaires à cause de l'absence de serpents en Nouvelle-Zélande. Dans les années 1830, quelques milliers de personnes de la Baie des Iles, encore quelques milliers de la région du Waikato ainsi que la propre tribu de Papahurihia, Hokianga, appuyèrent ce mouvement. On compta un peu partout en Nouvelle-Zélande des adorateurs de Papahurihia pendant quelques années.

En 1837, de nouveaux attributs vinrent enrichir et approfondir son mouvement et son mythe personnel. Les membres du mouvement commencèrent à s'appeler *Hurai* (Juifs). Cependant, dit Wilson, les autres Maoris continuaient à les regarder comme une secte chrétienne (ibid : 194). D'autre part, Papahurihia se donna un nouveau nom, *Te Atua Wera* (Le Dieu Igné), inspiré par la vision d'une comète brillante. Il affirma avoir ressuscité les morts.

Avant 1841, il ajouta d'autres éléments cosmologiques et eschatologiques. Il parla d'un arbre par lequel Nakahi monta au ciel, mais les missionnaires qui voulurent le suivre tombèrent dans l'enfer dont Nakahi attise les feux (Servant, 1973 : 56-57).

Nous n'avons qu'une seule description de première main d'un témoin du sacerdoce de Te Atua Wera mais elle prend place dans un contexte historique très intéressant, en 1845, quand le chef Hone Heke - en guerre à ce moment contre les Britanniques - se rendit chez lui. M.J. Webster (1908 : 259-261), invité par Te Atua Wera à assister à cette rencontre, rapporte : «Quittant son manteau avant de se serrer le nez avec Te Atua Wera, Heke se retrouva alors tout nu hormis une ceinture de cartouches». La séance eut lieu dans une grande maison d'assemblée où Te Atua Wera s'assit à un bout tandis que le reste de l'assistance s'assit à l'autre bout. «Le silence régna pendant un certain temps, mais soudainement un son sifflant, soupirant, se fit entendre au-dessus de nous et se déplaça ça et là de façon mystérieuse, parfois par un battement d'ailes et je pensai que quelque chose me toucha vraiment. C'était fini en vingt minutes environ».

Bientôt après eut lieu la bataille de Puketutu où Hone Heke, aidé par ses alliés maoris, Te Atua Wera y compris, l'emporta sur les troupes britanniques. Celles-ci étaient pourtant munies des armes les plus avancées de l'époque, comme par exemple des missiles enflammés projetés contre les fortifications maories par un canon. On dit que ces missiles n'arrivèrent que rarement à leur but mais qu'ils furent surtout une sorte de feu d'artifice effrayant. Les Maoris crurent, par contre, que le Nakahi, l'esprit familier de Te Atua Wera, les avait écartés (Maning 1930 : 309-313).

Bien que ces informations soient sommaires, elles suffisent à montrer toute l'ambiguïté du discours de Papahurihia. Le Nakahi, centre de son système, a une signification très claire dans la religion judéo-chrétienne : le serpent représente la tentation, le mal, le Diable, Lucifer, l'inceste et pour beaucoup de chrétiens la sexualité tout entière. Pour les Maoris, par contre, le mot est d'abord non-existant et désigne un animal inconnu. D'autre part, le Nakahi ressemble à certains dieux farceurs des Maoris (Maui, Tawhaki) qui sont à l'origine de la culture humaine. Ceux-ci ne représentent ni le bien ni le mal mais peut-être l'efficacité humaine. Pour Papahurihia, le Nakahi devint donc un dieu suprême mais aussi une sorte d'ange gardien personnel, source de son *mana* comme sorcier et comme prophète. Hone Heke ne pouvait pas se présenter devant Te Atua Wera dans ses vêtements car le *mana* du prophète les aurait pollués et, surtout, le chef et ses guerriers n'auraient pu devenir invulnérables si ce même *mana* n'avait pas pénétré pleinement leur corps. Inséré dans le système religieux blanc, Nakahi resta toutefois un vrai dieu maori. Essentiellement, dans l'affaire du jardin d'Eden, Papahurihia n'était pas du tout convaincu que l'intervention du Nakahi ait été une mauvaise chose. Les missionnaires le disaient, mais pourquoi se fier à eux? Péché ou non, Eve avait mangé la pomme sur l'invitation de l'émissaire de Dieu et comme conséquence, l'homme s'était mis à explorer et à conquérir la terre. Sans doute les missionnaires auraient préféré rester au Paradis mais les Maoris, eux, étaient plutôt contents d'avoir conquis la terre.[3]

Les symboles rituels introduits d'emblée dans ce mouvement avaient la même ambiguïté. D'abord, toutes les sources s'accordent à dire que le jour sacré de ce mouvement a été le samedi dès le début. Or «sabbath», tout comme «Nakahi», est un mot hébreu. Il semble donc bien que Papahurihia ait accentué, dès le début, son affinité avec les Hébreux. On a donné à ce phénomène plusieurs explications farfelues mais Wilson a sûrement raison quand il identifie le missionnaire protestant Samuel Marsden comme source de cette idée. Citant Marsden (1932 : 219-220), il établit que celui-ci avait disserté depuis 1819 sur la similitude entre les coutumes des Juifs anciens et les Maoris afin de justifier son idée que le peuple de la Nouvelle-Zélande trouvait son origine dans «quelques Juifs dispersés». Même le cannibalisme vint alimenter cette supposition car Marsden crut (II Rois ch. 10 à l'appui) que le cannibalisme était la voie par laquelle les vainqueurs acquéraient les vertus de leurs victimes.

On peut bien se demander si Marsden était conscient de toutes les implications philosophiques de cette idée quand il la proposa à ses ouailles maoris. Car pour un Anglais plus ou moins éduqué

de l'année 1819 une telle idée allait presque de soi. Elle n'avait pourtant de sens que dans le contexte de certains concepts de Herder tels la sagesse collective des peuples, ses qualités «organiques» révélées à l'observateur par une herméneutique et le pluralisme des cultures. Aucune de ces idées n'étaient disponibles, avant 1819, aux Maoris même les plus intelligents. Cependant, il ne faut pas sous-estimer la capacité d'un intellectuel maori de cette époque de déduire l'essentiel de ces idées une fois qu'on lui avait dit que les Maoris sont comme les Juifs anciens. Car, d'abord, les Maoris avaient leur propre science généalogique qui permettait, quand deux étrangers se rencontraient, d'établir entre eux des liens de consanguinité, donc de ressemblance, qui étaient encore cachés à tout le monde. Or cette science, comme celle de Herder, transcende toute classification proprement dite car elle dépend d'une relation encore inconnue entre deux classes distinctes. Une fois qu'on a établi cette relation, on n'a fusionné ces classes d'aucune façon, mais on a proposé une *interprétation* selon laquelle un membre (ou plusieurs membres) de la classe A est (ou sont) lisible(s) comme membre(s) de la classe B, et inversement. (Voir Schwimmer, 1978 : 207-221)

Chacune de ces classes représente une collectivité distincte avec son propre système social, moral et religieux. On peut penser les rapports entre ces classes comme égaux ou hiérarchiques, mais le plus souvent, on les pense (chez les Maoris) comme égaux et hiérarchiques à la fois - égaux sous l'aspect de l'alliance, hiérarchiques sous l'aspect des interprétations concurrentielles du corpus des généalogies. Car chaque côté peut réclamer le statut d'aîné vis-à-vis l'autre par la manipulation savante des lignes ambilinéaires de descendance. Les Maoris avaient donc bien inventé le pluralisme avant la lettre.

Armé de cet appareil, un intellectuel maori de cette époque pouvait bien trouver des solutions plus ou moins herderiennes au moment où il se posait la question évidente : pourquoi parler des Juifs? Car il s'agit bien ici de deux orateurs qui veulent établir des rapports réciproques et qui commencent leurs échanges amicaux en récitant leurs généalogies afin d'apprendre quels liens de parenté les unissent. Marsden se réclama donc des Juifs (de l'Ancien Testament) comme ses ancêtres ce qui fut tout à fait correct, pour un missionnaire. Le problème de l'intellectuel maori fut donc, en acceptant cette généalogie, de s'y présenter plausiblement comme l'aîné et de laisser le rôle du cadet au missionnaire.

4. *Le nationalisme dans le discours de Papahurihia*

Après cette première analyse du culte, je présenterai plus systématiquement la pensée de Papahurihia dans le cadre du nationalisme. Je me limiterai à trois concepts herderiens qui représentent selon Berlin l'essentiel de la pensée «contre-Lumières» et nationaliste : le populisme, l'empathie et le pluralisme.

(a) *Le populisme.* Herder pensait que les hommes ne s'épanouissaient pleinement que comme membres de groupes communautaires identifiables dont chacun se distingue par ses valeurs, son style, ses traditions, son patrimoine historique, sa langue particulière. Un tel groupe ne constitue ni un état ni un empire mais une nation unie par sa culture commune. Cette culture se partage à titre égal parmi tous les membres de la nation (*Volk*). Herder n'acceptait aucune hiérarchie entre les cultures ni aucun statut privilégié de maître au sein d'une culture.

Bien que notre connaissance du culte de Papahurihia soit très mince, nous savons que les membres discutaient entre eux des vieilles croyances, tout comme ils lisaient aussi la Bible ensemble. Les deux sources faisaient évidemment autorité égale. Les conditions environnantes indiquent par ailleurs que cette discussion des croyances était profondément religieuse. Pourtant les croyances de cette église n'était pas fixes - elles dépendaient des échanges d'idées. Le Volk fabrique sa propre religion - rien de plus herderien n'est imaginable.

Deux aspects de ce système me laissent pourtant rêveur. D'abord ce nivellement du *mana* et de la chefferie chez les Maoris classiques. Ensuite, ce qui semble encore moins croyable : ce libre partage des connaissances entre les lignages, cette idée qu'une croyance en vaut une autre, qu'elles sont toutes au même niveau. En vertu de quoi? Papahurihia voulait-il soumettre les croyances à la gouverne de la nation plutôt qu'à celle des lignages?

Je ne peux répondre entièrement à ces questions ici mais certaines clefs sont déjà disponibles. D'abord, comme on l'a vu, Te Atua Wera, ainsi que tous les mouvements prophétiques des Maoris des 19e et 20e siècles, ne dépendaient pas des grands chefs mais plutôt de chefs mineurs. Tous ces mouvements se faisaient en effet *contre* le *mana* (Voir Schwimmer, 1965 : 173-177) car la réputation des chefs mineurs ne se fonde que sur leur habileté et sur leurs réalisations concrètes. Cependant, ces chefs mineurs sub-

stituaient au *mana* qui leur manquait un type de puissance non-traditionnel, découlant du prophète. Je pense d'ailleurs que Te Atua Wera et tous les autres prophètes du 19e siècle (Te Ua Haumene, Te Kooti, etc.) avaient des relations d'égal à égal aux chefs qui fournissaient la plupart des guerriers impliqués dans leurs mouvements. Car tous ces prophètes avaient bien des troupes de guerriers attachés à eux-mêmes. Ces troupes participaient à toutes les guerres contre les blancs. Cependant, les prophètes n'avaient ni les ressources d'hommes ni les connaissances en tactique, en stratégie et en génie qui expliquent comment les Maoris purent s'opposer pour plusieurs décennies aux forces anglaises souvent beaucoup plus fortes qu'eux en matériel ainsi qu'en nombre [4].

Dans cette relation d'égal à égal, l'apport strictement militaire des prophètes n'égalait donc pas l'apport des chefs. Par contre, le *mana* de ces chefs mineurs n'égalait jamais l'autorité religieuse et idéologique des prophètes. Or, cette autorité prophétique identifiait les Maoris aux Hurai, donc à une unité super-tribale et nationale.

(b) *L'empathie*. Cette vision populaire du destin national s'exprima dans les visions des membres individuels des cultes. Mais comment peut-on *comprendre* leur créativité? On n'y parviendra pas si on la coupe en constituants, si on classifie ses concepts, ni si on la range sous des principes généraux, sous des lois universelles ou sous d'autres mécanismes. On ne la comprend enfin que par un processus de sensibilisation, par une faculté d'empathie (*Einfühlen*), (Herder 1877-1913, V : 502).

Ni la vision du Nakahi ni l'analogie entre les Maoris et les Hébreux ne sont intelligibles à la raison objective. Car les Maoris ne pouvaient pas voir le Nakahi comme serpent ni comme principe du mal - selon la raison des missionnaires - mais ils pouvaient l'entrevoir comme dieu jongleur, comme esprit créateur, comme comète, comme ange gardien, comme signe igné divinatoire voltigeant dans la maison d'assemblée nocturne. Ils pouvaient également identifier leurs souffrances sous le colonialisme à l'expérience des Hébreux, des Hurai, peuple élu de Dieu, en Égypte, au Sinaï et en Terre promise.

Rappelons surtout que les Hurai n'étaient plus un ensemble de tribus mais qu'ils étaient devenus, sous la férule de Dieu, un Volk, une nation. Les Hurai étaient connus des Maoris, non pas seulement par les discours de Te Atua Wera, mais aussi par la Bible elle-même et par d'autres écrits religieux disponibles à cette époque en langue maorie. Car un pourcentage considérable des Maoris de cette époque savaient lire et écrire. Les Hurai leur étaient familiers par leurs lectures. A la différence des Anglais qui n'honoraient même pas le Sabbath, ces Hurai furent connus comme un peuple sacré. Les Maoris s'identifiaient à leur puissance spirituelle, surtout parce qu'ils avaient pu vaincre les Égyptiens, les Canaanites et d'autres peuples (identifiables aux Britanniques) qui voulaient les exclure du pays promis. Or, ces Hurai devaient leurs victoires à la subordination de leurs identifications tribales à l'identité nationale révélée par Moïse. On peut donc conclure que l'identité nationale des Maoris, établie comme concept clef autour des années 1850-60, emprunta comme modèle l'identité super-tribale des Hurai.

(c) *Le pluralisme*. Étant donné que chaque culture a ses propres perspectives, son propre mode de penser et d'agir, donc son propre génie, Herder insistait sur le fait qu'on ne peut ni comprendre ni juger une culture qu'en termes de sa propre échelle de valeurs et de ses propres règles. Aucune nation ne peut donc être objectivement meilleure qu'une autre bien que toute «société naturelle» poursuive l'idéal de sa propre perfection, indépendamment de toute comparaison inter-sociétale.

D'autre part, une telle doctrine rend absolument suprême les valeurs de la nation, car il n'y a pas de critère externe. Les membres sont donc absolument meilleurs que les non-membres. Papahurihia fit des jugements catégoriques de ce type si on doit croire l'histoire de l'arbre racontée par Servant. Notons cependant que le prophète ne fut nullement l'inventeur de cette habitude néfaste mais qu'il l'emprunta à un missionnaire, l'évêque catholique Pompallier. Car Mgr Pompallier compara l'Église catholique au tronc d'un grand arbre, l'Église anglicane à ses branches principales et les méthodistes à ses tiges pourrissantes. Ses prêtres exposaient une affiche qui montrait ces tiges consumées par les feux infernaux brûlant sous cet arbre.

Or, Papahurihia enseigna que tous les missionnaires, peu importe leur secte, étaient des tiges prêtes à tomber et qu'ils seraient tous consummés dans les feux infernaux attisés par Nakahi. Cette image a plusieurs plans de signification. D'abord, le Nakahi a l'ambivalence d'un vrai dieu maori : il est dans le ciel, il est dans l'arbre, il est également dans l'enfer.

Il ne représente ni le bien ni le mal mais il est capable de l'un et de l'autre selon les circonstances. Cependant, toute cette image de l'arbre se revêt de l'autorité des missionnaires blancs - catholiques ou protestants, peu importe. Finalement, la doctrine de Papahurihia enseigne que tous les blancs se retrouveront en enfer tandis que tous les Hurai, donc les membres de son culte, se retrouveront au ciel. On reconnaitra ici sans aucun doute le vrai discours nationaliste.

5. Conclusion

Le mouvement de Te Atua Wera ne survécut pas longtemps à la défaite militaire de Hone Heke, mais d'autres cultes, d'autres prophètes prirent la relève : Pai Marire, Ringatu, Rua, Ratana. L'invention principale de Papahurihia, celle d'identifier les Maoris aux Hébreux anciens, restait comme la pierre angulaire de tous ces systèmes maoris du 19e siècle et même après. Le mouvement Ringatu de Te Kooti l'élabora davantage en identifiant les blancs aux Égyptiens et la lutte maorie à la libération de la Terre Promise.

Tous ces mouvements ont intégré la lutte religieuse à la lutte politique. Leur motivation immédiate fut toujours de combattre la souffrance quotidienne, les maladies physiques et psychologiques, la perte du sens d'identité subie par les victimes du colonialisme. Il s'y ajouta toujours une motivation politique : la conscience nationale et l'identité nationale étaient dans l'esprit des guérisseurs sinon des guéris.

Il y avait, en effet, plusieurs démarches brillantes au milieu du 19e siècle pour créer de toutes pièces une culture nationale maorie. Citons ici seulement la cosmogonie supposément ancienne créée par Te Matorohanga (Smith 1913) et le recueil classique de mythes écrit par Te Rangikaheke et signé par le gouverneur Grey (Grey 1858). Les dieux et les héros racontés dans ces livres devinrent très vite un patrimoine national des Maoris, bien que chaque tribu - et même chaque groupe local en ait eu sa version particulière, parfois très différente. Sans doute, ce type de discours unificateur est indispensable si une société tribale veut développer une culture nationale.

Cependant, le mouvement de Papahurihia précédait historiquement, mais aussi logiquement, ces compilations utiles du contenu de la culture. Car le premier pas, le pas le plus difficile de ce parcours avait été de dire : nous sommes une nation - quand cette idée était tout à fait nouvelle. Ce premier pas, c'était la genèse du discours nationaliste. Analytiquement, ce premier pas était complexe, car il est composé d'au moins cinq éléments :

1) Devant l'expérience d'une subordination du groupe à une force externe devenue menaçante, les vieux particularismes se transforment en sources d'autorité par un discours inédit, celui des Hurai et du Nakahi. Ce processus de transformation continue jusqu'au moment où quelqu'un trouve la meilleure formule pour représenter l'essentiel de la vieille culture dans un modèle national. Les Maoris acceptent souvent même aujourd'hui le concept des Hurai, mais le dieu Nakahi fut remplacé assez vite par le dieu Io, création de Te Matorohanga qui est toujours la pierre angulaire des représentations cosmiques de la nation maorie d'aujourd'hui.
2) L'universalisme des Lumières se transforme en source d'autorité par le dépassement du tribalisme. Ce processus s'avéra très lent dans la pratique maorie, car toutes leurs guerres et une bonne part de leurs luttes pacifiques se sont perdues à cause des divisions tribales et des conflits d'intérêts entre les chefs et les roturiers. Pourtant, le dépassement du tribalisme était déjà, comme il semble, au programme de Papahurihia.
3) Le discours inédit est conforme aux valeurs particularistes. Dans le cas des Hurai, on en trouve la preuve dans les papiers privés de Marsden aussi bien que dans la pratique de Papahurihia et de Te Kooti. Ce sont des analogies frappantes (comme cannibalisme/communion) qui ne sont pourtant pas évidentes sauf si un orateur s'en est servi en pratique. Ce n'est qu'au moment où Te Kooti fut exilé et détenu sur l'île Chatham, qu'on commença à dire que les blancs retenaient les Hurai en Égypte par la force et que ceux-ci s'étaient évadés pour retourner à la Terre promise (c.-à.-d. la Nouvelle-Zélande).

   Quant au dieu Io, ses analogies avec les dieux traditionnels des Maoris résultaient des recherches approfondies pendant plusieurs années par Te Matorohanga, qui était un grand savant.

4) Le discours inédit est conforme aux valeurs nationalistes. L'essentiel des symboles comme Nakahi, Io, c'est qu'ils sont tout à fait libres d'affiliations tribales. On n'aurait pu choisir des symboles plus anciens sans que ceux-ci

soient identifiés au patrimoine de l'une ou l'autre des tribus maories existantes, donc inutiles à tout rassemblement national. Car le discours du Nakahi ou Io a la qualité très remarquable d'être tout à fait maori sans être tribal. C'était donc *le premier discours national* des Maoris.

5) Le discours inédit fait la lutte aux ennemis de la nation. Notre prophète savait très bien que le serpent, c'était le Diable de l'enseignement des missionnaires. Le culte qu'il proposa n'était pas un culte du Diable : c'était un culte nationaliste. Cependant, ce choix de symbole fit ouverte-ment la lutte aux missionnaires. Ceci était un aspect essentiel du culte, car la lutte externe est la raison d'être du nationalisme. Sans elle, on ne peut pas rassembler une nation.

Notes

1. J'ai entrepris cette étude suite à l'invitation de l'Université basque. Je l'ai présentée en mai 1988 à Donostia. Je suis aussi reconnaissant pour les commentaires qui m'ont adressés lors de cette présentation. J'ai lu une autre version de cet article au séminaire de M. Daniel de Coppet, à l'EHESS, toujours en mai 1988. Là aussi, je suis reconnaissant aux intervenants et aux commentaires de M. Alfred Adler, après la présentation. De plus, le départe-ment d'anthropologie de l'Université d'Auckland m'a invité à présenter une troisième version de ce même article en juillet 1988. Cette fois, les intervenants furent des spécialistes en ethnographie maorie qui m'ont aidé à préciser certains aspects des données. Lors de l'année sabbatique pendant laquelle j'ai rédigé cet article, j'ai reçu des subventions du CRSSH et de l'Université Laval.

2. Une bonne discussion récente du terme *mana* est celle de Valeri (1985 :97) qui conclut : «Mana is... the efficacy of a system of relations personified by an individual (for instance a chief) : it is the notion that that system «works». Voir aussi Schwimmer (1978 : 206).

3. J'ai rencontré la même attitude quand les Orokaiva, une tribu de la Nouvelle-Guinée, me ra-contèrent leur version de la chute d'Adam. Ils ne pensaient pas que la vie humaine était mauvaise et ils ne croyaient pas que le Bon Dieu aurait voulu la rendre telle. Plutôt - en fin de compte - elle est parfois bonne, parfois mauvaise, donc pourquoi prêter au Bon Dieu des inten-tions méchantes qu'il n'a probablement jamais eues quoi qu'en disent les missionnaires.

4. J. Belich a fait une analyse excellente de l'aspect militaire de cette résistance opposée aux blancs par les armées des prophètes. Notons surtout l'originalité des fortifications conçues par les Maoris pour résister aux armes développées par les Britanniques au 19e siècle. L'auteur conclut que «les Britanniques n'ont gagné les guerres maories par aucune supériorité technologique ou méthodique, ni par aucune autre supériorité qualitative du tout. En dernière analyse, ils ont gagné pour la même raison que les Goths défirent les Romains : ils ont écrasé les Maoris par leur nombre» (1986 : 298).

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Social Status of Researchers And Professional Practices in the Field of Research Aimed at Social Intervention in France[1]

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During a governmental mission to France in March of 1988 the author evaluated the effects of the status and professional practices of researchers on their work in the field of 'social research'. This type of research is largely financed by sectorial ministeries and private associations formed under the provisions of the law of 1901. I examined the socio-political and scientific milieu of knowledge production in this field of study.

Such research on social aspects of health, social problems and income security raises fundemental epistemological questions regarding its legitimacy, specificity, scientific validity, and applicability. A traditional theoretical orientation in social science research, lack of interest in funding this type of research at the CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche scientifique) and scientific ministries, and the precarious status of young researchers all characterize this new field of study and also constrain its development. However a new momentum is under way, due to recent initiatives by the Mission de Recherche et d'Experimentation (MIRE), the Ministère des affaires sociales et de l'emploi, and to political lobbying by public bodies and private organizations with the goal of revitalizing social research aimed at finding concrete and innovative solutions to contemporary problems through the application of research.

A l'occasion d'une mission gouvernementale en France en mars 1988, l'auteur a évalué le statut ainsi que les pratiques professionnelles des chercheurs effectuant leurs travaux en recherche sociale ("sur le social"). Ce type de recherche est financé, en bonne partie, par les ministères sectoriels et les associations privées constituées en vertu de la Loi de 1901. L'auteur cherche à révéler les conditions socio-politiques et scientifiques de la production des connaissances dans ce champ d'étude.

Ce type de recherche sur les aspects sociaux de la santé, les problèmes sociaux et la sécurité du revenu soulève des questions épistémologiques fondamentales se rapportant à sa légitimité, sa spécificité, sa scientificité et son applicabilité. Les traditions théoriques de la recherche dans les sciences sociales, le peu d'intérêt qu'accordent le Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS) et les ministères scientifiques au financement de ce genre de recherche, la précarité du statut des jeunes chercheurs qui définissent ce nouveau champ d'étude sont autant de facteurs qui freinent son développement. Pourtant, toute une dynamique nouvelle est en train de se créer grâce aux initiatives récentes de la Mission de Recherche et d'expérimentation (MIRE) du ministère des affaires sociales et de l'emploi et à une volonté politique de la part d'organismes publics et d'associations privées pour donner un second souffle à la recherche sur le social avec l'intention, par le transfert des connaissances, d'apporter des solutions concrètes et novatrices aux problèmes de la vie moderne.

1. THE OVERALL PERSPECTIVE

At a time when **social research** in Quebec[3] is working to refine its major orientations, to define its boundaries with greater precision, and is in the process of acquiring a sharper focus, it is appropriate to look at what has been done in a similar field of study elsewhere. The rationale for such a comparison rests

on the necessity to identify the transcultural historical contexts of development of this field of observation and action, the social policies of the granting bodies, and the various fields of investigation of the researchers themselves.

The Research Council (Conseil Québécois de la Recherche Sociale), which I chair, felt that such a comparison could be made with France, where research institutions, models for social practices and linguistic patterns are quite similar to those of Quebec. This was the context when I was asked to head a special study and cooperative mission to France in March of 1988. The Mission's mandate was defined as follows:

> "Social research must be examined from the standpoint of its specific object, its main themes, its observational methods and analytic procedures, its financial and human resources needs, its institutional frameworks in regard to promotion and diffusion, its relationship to professional practices and interventions in the various settings, as well as from the point of view of its relationships to the power structures and of the sociopolitical issues at stake "(Tremblay, Picard et Boisvert 1989:10).

As can be seen from the previous statement, the mission objectives were stated broadly enough to fully benefit from the professional experience and expertise of our French colleagues active in this field of study. These colleagues belonged to three categories: *promoters* (administrators of granting bodies); *producers* (heads and members of institutions producing social research; and *users* (heads and social actors in organizations engaged in social intervention with individuals or groups of different social categories in the health and welfare fields). Through the inclusion of selected representatives of these three categories from diverse institutions — some with a public status, others with a private one; some located in metropolitan Paris, others in northern and southern France — we felt that we could cover a wide range of actors and that we could encompass, in a single field operation, a study of both the planning and administration of social research as well as the infrastructural and contextual backgrounds of knowledge production and of the users of research results (knowledge transfer). Through the examination of the full spectrum of research in the field of social intervention[4] within a spatiotemporal perspective (from the center to periphery and from the post Second World war period up to 1988) we attempt to reveal the status of social research within the power structure, the epistemological issues stemming from its endeavours, and the sociopolitical forces at play.

It is well known that France is a country where research traditions are solidly established not only in the experimental and natural sciences but also in the social and human sciences. Yet, even more so than in Quebec, social research confronts major barriers in effectively penetrating the field of social policies and practices. Research producers, an important contingent of them young social scientists without a secure job or a permanent research position, frequently experience serious difficulties in carrying out their research activities. How does one go about explaining the flagrant contradiction between the existence of a well-established and a well-financed scientific institution (Le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, The CNRS) and the precarious status of research in applied human sciences as a field? The complete answer to such a question, to be sure, is a complex one. However, let me invoke two series of factors which stand out in order to begin to gain some insight into it. The first group relates to epistemological questions within the field of social action; the second stems from the structural and social conditions underlying knowledge production in that particular research domain. Let us discuss first the epistemology and then proceed to the infrastructures of research production.

2. *EPISTEMOLOGICAL QUESTIONS*

Research on the psychosocial and sociocultural aspects of health, on the social problems related to social inequalities and social marginality and on income security[5] raises basic epistemological questions with regard to its legitimacy, its specificity, its scientificness and its applicability.

2.1 LEGITIMACY

One says of an action that it is legitimate when it is fully grounded, justified and perceived as reasonable. Research on problems requiring social intervention in France is generally judged as reasonable and useful by professional social workers and other first-line users of research products who must invent ways and means to resolve social problems which confront individuals and groups seeking help, being offered advice or given services. But, as a research field, it does not possess a fully-recognized social status, endorsed by government authorities, administrators of public funds and the scientific community. The Mission for Research and Experimentation (the MIRE[6]) is exceptional, inasmuch as it is under the authority of a sectorial ministry (The Ministry of Social affairs and Labour) rather than a scientific one (such as L'Education Nationale or Le Ministère de la Recherche) and uses

its meagre funding to promote research in the field of social intervention. As a new field of investigation, research on social and health problems is not invested with an historical legitimacy, nor has it been successful in defining its object of study. Moreover, up to now, the scientific community has not been fully convinced of its relevance.

2.2 SPECIFICITY

Members of the established scientific community in France still ask themselves in what way social research differs from social science research and from research in the behavioral and human sciences. As a consequence, a large majority of them disagrees that it is a separate field of research. They raise fundamental questions. Can the promoters of research aimed at social intervention identify a distinctive, well-delineated field of study, pinpoint its particular conceptual perspectives, describe its corpus of data, and characterize its instruments of observation? Has it enabled a recognized group of social practitioners to achieve a high professional status in the scientific arena? The newness of this field of study and social experimentation, which is at the interface of the biological, psychological and cultural sciences due to its multidisciplinary nature[7], possesses undefined peripheral zones and central areas which superimpose and intersect the boundaries of well-established disciplines such as ethnology, psychology, sociology and social psychiatry. These peculiar contexts make it problematic and controversial to specify the core elements of what constitutes the field of research aimed at social intervention.

2.3 SCIENTIFICNESS

In disputing the legitimacy and the distinctive character of research on social intervention, its detractors have taken various approaches in challenging its scientific nature. In the North American context, the research and action field is identified with "action research" (Gélinas 1985, Goyette 1985) aimed at solving concrete problems through a process of feedback. It is a field which studies research questions such as these: How does one reduce unemployment and constrain the trend towards job precariousness? What kinds of social policies and professional practices could reduce the incidence of violent and criminal acts? Can we prevent suicide by devising special measures of social support? How does one go about helping drug addicts, and facilitating their social rehabilitation? How is it possible to attenuate the physical and psychological barriers which preclude persons with functional deficiencies from social integration? This list of questions is illustrative of the kinds of topics being chosen by producers and users of research on social problems. The opponents of such research observe that conceptual frameworks and empirical procedures of investigators working on social issues run the risk of being tarnished by their utilitarian objectives. Science, they suggest, must remain 'pure': it should have no sensitivity, nor does it have colour. These views, in my estimation, are outmoded. They mask a conception of science rooted in the experimental model where every variable, outside the ones being measured, is supposed to be fully controlled or assumed to be homogeneous. In such a model the research results are portrayed as unmistakably sound and reliable. It seems to me that there is a confusion of kinds here since there is no distinction being established between a rigorous procedure (be it quantitative or qualitative in nature) and an ideological one where the full details of the outcome are already engraved in the premises.

2.4 APPLICABILITY

At a later stage than in North America, Europe was influenced by a utilitarian ideology that had a major impact on the emerging field of study called social research. This occurred in France when planners working at The Commissariat Général du Plan[8] were in the process of writing the Sixth Plan (1969-1973). They established a planning perspective that corresponded to the economic and social objectives of French society at that time. Research designs and programmes of social investigators had to derive from the political, economic and social objectives articulated in the Plan. However the specific applied orientation of the Sixth Plan was neither reinforced nor maintained in subsequent plans, with the consequent result that social scientists returned to their theoretical work, dealing with more traditional issues of explanation and understanding rather than action-oriented research interests. But a reversal of the situation occurred with the entry into the market place of a generation of young graduates with precarious statuses. As early as the mid-seventies they took it upon themselves to revive and give credibility to the applied concerns of the sixties. Their research initiatives arose outside the conventional institutional frameworks of scientific production. Their research activities were in essence action-oriented. The combination of their non-institutional status and action-orientation made it difficult for them to gain appropriate recognition as researchers and to see their research recommendations become accepted either by organizations providing social services or by the public.

While this overview of epistemological questions has been very broad in scope and overly simplistic in its analysis of the situation, nonetheless, it has the merit of pointing out the main questions which have been raised in France in regard to research "sur le social". At the same time, it leaves the onus on specialists engaged in the field of action research to provide us with adequate responses to transcend the obstacles identified here to the legitimacy of that complex field of activities centered upon social action and social protection. At this point therefore I set aside questions on the foundations of knowledge in order to proceed to examine the sociopolitical conditions of knowledge production.

3. *THE SOCIOPOLITICAL CONDITIONS OF KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION*

In this section, I will examine modes of production of research on social action according to the two operational pathways privileged in France: research apparatus (the 'dispositifs'), and research programs (the 'incitatifs'). First, however, it is imperative to spell out the types of constraint on that kind of research. The three major ones are:

- the research needs of the funding body related to corrective functions;
- the selection by the granting bodies of research priorities;
- the administrative standards regulating the production process.

Constraints related to the needs of the funding body: Every observer of the research enterprise in France is struck by the wide variety of research production modes, and by the vigilance on the part of the granting bodies to ensure that the most productive formulae are used to fulfil their specific needs. If those who provide the financial assistance and who require a particular kind of research product, for instance, are of the view that it is preferable to fund research that is exploratory in nature and is carried out on a short term basis, the results of which are going to acquire some utility for a particular target group immediately, they will avoid promoting studies in depth, with long-term horizons (the results of which might eventually gain some utilitarian value). They demand short-term returns for financial investments in research. Such regulatory measures, which are consistently imposed on research producers on health and social problems, have practically no impact on investigators engaged in fundamental research.

Constraints related to research priorities for granting agencies: The second type of constraint is the specification of priority research areas defined by the granting bodies. These priority themes flow from research needs. The research priorities of the MIRE in 1987-1988, for instance, included three distinct areas of study: work, health, and social services. Each of these has specific axes which differ from those enunciated by the Caisse Nationale des Allocations Familiales (the CNAF), the Centre Technique National d'Etude sur les Handicaps et les Inadaptations (the CTNERHI) or the Ministry of Justice. These distinct research orientations have some logic, since each of these administrative bodies has distinct responsibilities in regard to particular target groups that require specialized professional skills. From time to time, the perceived needs of these organizations may overlap. In such cases, joint research ventures are developed.

Administrative and procedural constraints: The third type of constraint imposes further restrictions on researchers in the field of social intervention. In general, it relates to research procedures. Not only do researchers have to agree to focus their research on the identified research themes, they are also compelled to replicate production modalities which flow from administrative, financial and technical norms according to rigorous temporal deadlines. For example, they might have to undertake empirical observations on particular groups of individuals with special health or social problems and build operational strategies as well as appropriate research instruments capable of yielding concrete solutions to be implemented in a short period of time. Moreover, in some cases, social investigators may have to find complementary financial resources from private sources.

3.1 THE APPARATUS OF RESEARCH ON SOCIAL INTERVENTION ('LES DISPOSITIFS')

One of the two operational pathways privileged for research in France is the 'dispositifs', or research apparatus. The apparatus of research on social intervention includes infrastructures of research production as well as mechanisms for diffusion of results and knowledge transfer. Let us focus our attention on the frameworks of knowledge production according to four different modalities:

- research laboratories and associate research teams of the CNRS;
- research teams;
- research groups;
- lone researchers who carry out their work either on university campuses or with some non-profit private association established according to the Law of the First of July 1901[9].

In the *CNRS research laboratories*, one finds schol-

ars engaged in the production of new knowledge using standard scientific procedures such as documentation, observational methods, conceptual analysis and theory building, validation of indices and instruments, critical stands, et cetera. Researchers in these settings are employed on a full-time basis and are career-oriented. They have secured tenure in their positions through competitions which accredited their theoretical and methodological competence in a specialized field of study. In the pursuit of their research work they do have to abide by administrative and professional regulations. However, they enjoy a wide degree of freedom in the development of a research question within their specialized area. The quality of their research production is assessed by academic criteria such as invitations to give conferences or lectures at prestigious foreign institutions, publications (scientific books, specialized monographs, articles written for a highly specialized public that acts as peer referees), active participation in international learned societies and the like. They represent a very special class of researchers. In Patricia Thomas's terminology (1985), they are guided by a knowledge-driven model. In addition to being financed for their research projects on a continuing basis (as long as the criteria of quality assessment are met), they execute their research endeavours with complete freedom of movement.

Members of the *associate teams of the CNRS* have practically the same kinds of privileges as full-fledged members of the CNRS. There are, however, slight differences in their respective status which are worth mentioning. Such research teams are accredited by the CNRS after the scientific work of their members has been adjudicated as top quality, and they get special financial resources from the CNRS. Since these researchers are located in a university setting, they usually have teaching and tutorial tasks, with graduate and undergraduate students. At times, they may also perform administrative functions in their academic units. Although they devote a large proportion of their time to research or research-like activities, they cannot be considered as full-time researchers. Members of the associate teams do not have any form of tenure in their association with CNRS since theirs is a parallel career stream. However, they have the same degree of freedom in shaping their own research problems.

There are two kinds of *research teams* which do not have the same scientific status and do not profit from the advantages reserved to government laboratories and associate teams of the CNRS. They are the monodisciplinary research teams housed on university campuses, and those associated with private or semi-public organizations. In the university setting, it is possible for a number of faculty members with related disciplinary backgrounds to group themselves in order to submit research proposals to government ministries, semi-public institutions and private funding bodies. In this context, research is an integral element for training purposes and career advancement. Academic recognition and tenure are only granted to the best, and competition is fierce. In such an intellectual climate, research efforts have to lead to knowledge advances and serve the training of graduate students as well as the scholarly development of faculty members, and have to garner scientific recognition for the university. Research teams established outside academia, on the other hand, are usually the result of undertakings tied to special requests and needs. In contrast to the preceding ones, non-institutional researchers do not have a permanent job status and they are generally fully committed to the goals of the target groups. Their work must yield concrete solutions for various actors in diverse fields of intervention (e.g. social protection, delinquency, mental health, violence, drug addiction). Researchers' salaries are paid through research contracts. These contracts have to be periodically renewed, and, at times, secured from new sources, with all the uncertainties that such a search for funds entails. Thus, the professional status of investigators carries little, if any, financial security. Moreover, they have to produce high quality results within short periods of time. In brief, then, the career profile of researchers in the applied field relies, in large measure, on team productivity (measured by the same criteria used for the CNRS researchers), relevance of recommendations to client agencies, and the usefulness of results from the standpoint of these funding bodies.

Research groups also operate both in university settings and in the private sector. They are to be distinguished, however, from research teams in terms of size, scope (they are multidisciplinary), the nature of research tasks being undertaken (they are less diversified and are carried out within shorter periods of time), and the mobility of researchers.

Lone researchers are also found in both universities and private organizations. The latter, who usually carry on their work in action-oriented environments, have a precarious employment status, and must produce findings that can be readily implemented within short periods of time.

The preceding paragraphs reviewed the infrastructures of production of research on social intervention. As indicated above, the second component of the apparatus of research in this area is the mechanisms for diffusion of research results and know-

ledge transfer. Investigators have access to a number of different modes: book collections, scientific journals, monographs, local magazines, monthly letters, seminars in which producers and users participate, specialized training sessions, and a variety of other mechanisms. Selection of a mode of diffusion is usually determined by the characteristics of potential users (social workers, specialized teachers, recreational monitors and agents of intervention in the field).

3.2 RESEARCH PROGRAMS ('LES INCITATIFS')

Complementing infrastructures of knowledge production and knowledge transfer (research apparatus, 'dispositifs'), are the other operational pathway privileged in France: research programs ('incitatifs'). The dominant program of research on social intervention in France flows from research grants. There are three major types of grant modes:

- statutory grants;
- grants awarded through a public competition;
- negotiated contracts.

Statutory research grants are given to individuals who have secured permanent status in a research institution or in a professional organization engaged in action programmes. The CNRS people, for instance, or those working for governmental research institutes, receive each year the financial resources required for their specialized research. Renewals are based on peer judgments of quality of the researcher rather than the full justification of a specific financial request[10] for a project. The objective being pursued is the development of a particular field of knowledge, the intellectual prestige of the institution for which the researcher works, and career development. Such a stand is derived, of course, from an elitist model that privileges research that is (mono)disciplinary in nature. This model extends to all fields of human knowledge (the training process being excluded). In such a model the diffusion of research results to the non-specialized public is not considered relevant. It also places no particular value on finding solutions to the concrete problems facing society. Such research professionals hold a very special status which entails numerous advantages[11]. The description of such a well-known phenomenon is provided to establish the contrasts that exist between social science researchers at the CNRS and investigators engaged in research on social intervention issues, whose social statuses are precarious; whose financial resources are problematical; and who function under various modes of administrative control that reduce the scope and at times the quality of their research findings. CNRS researchers, one has to remember, have made meager contributions to the birth and development of research on social problems requiring public intervention.

Grants open to competition are usually awarded according to peer group assessment. In France, however, this evaluative process carries a special coloration. It has been customary for a number of granting bodies to call upon their board members to become actors in the peer assessment procedures. Up to a point, that policy denotes the equal value, if not the superior weight, of research relevance over the scientific quality of the research submission being evaluated. Researchers who belong to university teams stand greater chances of becoming 'winners' than university investigators working as lone wolves, or those isolated ones located in the kinds of organizations that are the main users of research products.

Competitions are usually carried out within general research areas (family, mental health, handicaps, or delinquency, for instance) or on more specific issues (priority research fields, specialized research themes). When competitions bear on wide research topics rather than priority themes, the criteria for quality assessment are: scientific rigor, the originality of the project and the research competence of the applicant. In such cases research procedures acquire a fundamental colouring and allow the grantee to pursue his or her research project over a period of years. Conversely, when competitions bear on a priority field (single-parent families, family violence, neglected children, desinstitutionalized psychiatric patients, or youth unemployment, for instance) assessment criteria differ and are likely to be associated with questions of opportunity. The funding body will select the best proposal (or a few among the very best according to available funds), keeping in mind, of course, the degree of correspondence that exists between research applications and the publicized call for tenders, the logic of the scientific overview being provided, the practical scope of expected results, the competence of the research applicant, the concreteness of budgetary estimates, the realism of temporal deadlines and the ethical constraints of the undertaking being envisioned.

Contractual research is almost always commissioned by policy-making bodies and is tied to a pressing need or problem to be solved in a short time. It is a research request handed over to a research team (or a single researcher) according to diverse modalities. Space limitations here prevent me from spelling them out (see Tremblay, Boisvert, Picard 1989 :112-114). The ideal type of such contractual research is a well-defined call for tenders which

conforms to high quality standards in regard to its conceptual and methodological formulations as well as to its technical, administrative and financial requirements. Once a party 'bidding' for a contract has been successful, the work can proceed with some sense of security in regard to financial resources and methodological procedures. The MIRE, for instance, through its call for tenders, allows a large number of interested parties that work on social problems or psychosocial aspects of health to initiate research on particular topics in areas considered important, with some continuity. This kind of continuity, to be sure, bears no comparison to the security of the well-established researchers. The 'call for tenders' technique is a highly-structured one, where there are concerns for the most efficient use of financial resources and where research expectations of the funding bodies are spelled out. The requests for bids are written with great care. I have examined a number of them and most, if not all, (those of the MIRE[12], the CNAF, the CTNERHI and of the ministry of justice, for instance) could be published as research notes in refereed journals. In the end, it is the most astute bidders who stand the best chances of success in such competitions. The contract between the researcher and the granting body specifies the conditions under which particular research is to be conducted, defines its particular phases and spells out the main chapters of the expected research results. Such a contract may be awarded for one or two years. In the latter case, however, the contracting party will be obliged to produce a number of progress reports. Studies of an exploratory nature and those which bear on a 'knowledge contract'[13] have to be carried out within one year. In France, a distinction is made between a study and a piece of research. The study bears on a less complex topic than research, can be completed within a shorter period of time, and is relevant to existing or anticipated social problems.

There are other types of research done under contractual agreements, which do not have the same importance as the calls for tenders of the major public institutions. They are usually contracts offered to small groups of young researchers by private organisations concerned with the implementation of research findings. Most of the time, these research undertakings lack an appropriate scientific framework and encounter serious difficulties in reaching the objectives set at the start. It is in this specific kind of situation that mission members perceived most clearly the kinds of difficulties associated with establishing closer ties between universities and social work agencies, and understood most clearly the weaknesses of this type of contractual work for researchers who aim at acquiring better research skills and greater professional competence.

In concluding this section, let me add that a few other kinds of contractual arrangements are sometimes made with respect to operational research [14] and action research aimed at bettering the socio-economic status of particular groups or at reducing the negative impact of social problems. These are usually financed by the technical and sectorial ministries as well by semi-public and autonomous organizations pursuing goals related to their respective mandates.

4. *PROFESSIONAL PRACTICES IN RESEARCH ON SOCIAL INTERVENTION*

A wide range of factors and sociopolitical conditions retard the development of research on major social issues in France. A small sample represents the expanse: the epistemological questions to which we alluded above; the theoretical and institutional research traditions in the social sciences; the lukewarm interest in research on social intervention by the National Center For Scientific Research (the CNRS) and by the scientific ministries; the unpredictable outcome of political changes and the precariousness of the professional statuses of young investigators in the field, especially those who carry their research work outside the traditional contexts ("les chercheurs hors institution"). Yet there are new dynamisms appearing in the field of research on social problems which are visible through recent formal initiatives of the MIRE, the political will of the socialist government second wave, and the strengthening of concerted efforts of public institutions and private organizations[15]. Efforts made by the three partners (researchers, policy makers and administrators, and funding bodies) are converging, and are directed at giving vitality to research on social problems, in line with the parameters of the move towards administrative decentralization initiated to stimulate the search for concrete and innovative solutions to problems associated with modernity. This wide overview of professional practices in the social action field underscores the vectors which will now be the focus:

- structural contingencies
- limitations of the funding arrangements
- the main research themes

4.1 STRUCTURAL CONTINGENCIES

There is a marked lack of unity in the understanding of basic tenets of research on social intervention in France, which derives as much from the

diversity of the research tradition of participants as from contesting views on social issues. This situation, it seems to me, arises from the diversity of conceptual models for research on culture, on groups, and on people — different 'schools of thought'. It also reflects various political ideologies which range from the extreme right to the extreme left. This was demonstrated during the visit of our mission in France, which happened to coincide with the presidential elections. Therefore we were in a position to observe the great uncertainties that existed with regard to the future of such research. Feelings of anxiety were expressed as frequently by research planners and administrators as by researchers and interveners themselves. *Who, from the left or from the right, would become president? What would be the political affiliation of those holding key power positions? What would the new scientific policies look like? As far as research is concerned, what kind of influences would the individuals in key positions have on institutions financing research aimed at social interventions?* Each of these questions occupied the minds of these people.

Distance is another significant structural factor. In sharp contrast to basic scientific research, research on social problems has so far been carried out mainly by investigators outside of Paris. As a result of the geographical dispersion, the main promoters of this kind of research experience serious difficulties in attempting to establish functional networks, which are an essential component in the strengthening of action-oriented research. This reflects the relatively recent growth of social research aimed at solving problems and is also related to the background of researchers. Some have academic backgrounds, and have the same skills for research as traditional researchers. Others have been trained as social workers, which in France is not studied on university campuses; their professional training is action-oriented rather than research-oriented. With non-university backgrounds,
these people seldom have the opportunity to acquire skills in basic research. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that this part of the research community has difficulties in establishing bonds with university researchers. Conversely, university-based researchers are not usually inclined to work as team members with intervention professionals who are situated in a variety of organizations with the aim of providing a wide range of specialized social services. As a consequence, there are several sorts of 'distancing' between researchers who are theoreticians on social issues and those who are engaged in action and the provision of social protection.

Disciplinary compartmentalization is another difficulty encountered in France by researchers on social issues. In North America, it is a well-established principle that those who are going to work on health and social problems have to establish multidisciplinary teams. In France, some research groups working on social problems are mono-disciplinary, which limits understanding of multidimensional problems. At this time Sociology occupies a dominant position.

4.2 FUNDING BODIES

As I mentioned earlier, the development of research on social problems in France has not been the result of efforts initiated by the scientific institutions financed by the research ministry or by the ministry for higher education, or by statutory researchers (though some, such as Robert Castel and Michel Chauvière, have carried out pioneering work of high quality). Instead, sectorial ministries such as Social affairs and Justice, which has devoted limited funds on a regular basis, have been instrumental in allowing for the expansion and maintenance of the field. In the French context, that fact carries both advantages and disadvantages. While financial commitments on the part of government and administrative bodies (other than scientific ones) represent an undeniable positive contribution to research on social issues and social intervention, they also have negative consequences. First, they entail controls through the restricted priority areas: researchers are funded only as long as they can demonstrate that their research findings serve the needs of individuals and target groups. In the French socio-political context, one must also add uncertainties from changes of government, frequent turnovers in ministerial responsibilities, shifts in administrative heads of para-public agencies, and abrupt changes in areas of research priorities. There are some counterparts to these limitations for the researchers working in this area in traditional settings; if financial resources made available to them through the ministry of research are secure and consistent, this may lead to research which is conservative in style, lacking the innovative stimulation crucial for high quality results. This situation engenders 'fundamental' research at the expense of applied social research.

4.3 MAIN RESEARCH THEMES

The comments here should be considered only as illustrations of patterns in research themes[16]; since our mission's data gathering process did not involve a rigorous research design or well-designed sampling model, an attempt to analyze the research themes on social and health problems in France could lead to misinterpretations. Although it is not

a comprehensive account of the social research being carried out in France, the following information does reflect the major orientations of a number of principal institutions, and of researchers who are leaders in the field. Because of the length and diversity of the list of prominent themes I have grouped them according to their commonalities. This revealed two major classes of research themes. The first one includes four major categories:

- phenomena related to deviance, intolerance and social marginality;
- policies, services and professions of social action and social protection;
- family structure, functions and values;
- dynamics of population health and the process of aging.

Of lesser importance, the second class of themes is comprised of three priority areas:

- work, employment and poverty;
- urban studies;
- social structures and various kinds of solidarities.

It should be noted that the priority research areas of the Québec Council for Social Research (the CQRS) are in the first set. The similarities in research orientations apparent in France and Québec should be interpreted in a triple manner. First, social mutations and transformations of occidental society have much in common in France and in Québec. Second, the negative consequences of these similar patterns on population health and social relationships lead to research initiatives in both countries aimed at finding appropriate programmes which translate themselves into caring patterns and social services. Finally, this situation creates for Québec an opportunity to establish cooperative undertakings with France, through joint efforts in research, leading in the end to comparative studies.

5. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

This report does not provide us with an exhaustive overview of research efforts in France in the social research field. Such a goal would have required an increase in the number of granting bodies visited, meetings with a larger number of research producers in the various French regions, and more systematic coverage of the various intervention agencies and institutions. The mission's objective was exploratory in nature and its main goal was a broad picture of social research in France based on meeting representatives of three professional categories directly involved in research "on the social", (planners and managers, producers, and mediating agents in the workplace). The comparative information gained from an analysis of the various strategies and processes involved was to be applied in devising a three-year development plan for the Québec Research Council; it proved extremely useful.

As I mentioned, our visit to France coincided with the period immediately preceding the presidential election. As a result, some people were not available for meetings. While disappointing, this fact was also informative; it helped us to grasp better the uncertain state of the research enterprise during the election campaign. That uncertainty was especially acute in the social research field and could not be dissociated from the unhappy political experience of the cohabitation of the left and right wings during the last few years of the Mitterand government. That political experience had meant budgetary cuts to research funds, the freezing of new permanent openings and replacements, the unavailability of funds for research equipment and the inability to provide researchers with clear guidelines. It is well known that one of the most important disappointments for French researchers during the last decade was the delay in implementing the recommendations of the Godelier Report, which proposed reforms of Le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

Another striking element, to which I also referred earlier, relates to the great similarities that exist in the strategic fields for social research in France and those singled out either by the Rochon Commission or by the Québec Council for Social Research. These homologies are associated in both Europe and America with rapid social changes transforming social institutions and behavioral patterns. While the terms used in France to designate the undesirable consequences of rapid changes are not necessarily identical to those of North America, they cover the same general phenomena: new types of families; the new poverty ("la précarisation" in France); youth unemployment; marginal groups; various manifestations of violent behaviour; risk factors to health, et cetera. In the April 23, 1988 issue of *Le Figaro*, the former minister of Social Affairs and Labor (Philippe Séguin) identified the two major challenges facing France in the years to come in the social policy field: social exclusion and aging of the population. In his view, the major principles that have to guide action programmes are social solidarity and close personal interrelationships.

The Québec Council had arrived at a similar position when it defined the research field under its responsibility with the main concepts of social participation and social solidarity. Strikingly, the the-

matic areas of social exclusion and aging emphasized in France cover a wide spectrum, requiring social programmes covering "problems of unemployment, of health and social protection" and the fighting of "discriminatory risks against women, the handicapped, the immigrants" (ibid). Problems faced by the Ministry of Health and Social Services in Québec are analogous, and research and action programmes being established to tackle them are similar in many ways to those in France.

This article has argued that one of the major drawbacks of the social research field in France is rooted in epistemological issues related to its definition, legitimacy, meaning; its articulation with the power structure; and, indirectly, its relationship to the sociopolitical issues at stake. It is a new disciplinary field, mainly populated by young researchers in precarious work status (contractual work and research assistantships) or with tenure at the lower echelons of the professional scale. Social research holds a subordinate status and is not as yet recognized as a "true research field". Moreover, there is sharp disagreement among theoreticians and those engaged in action programmes regarding its legitimacy and specificity and its theoretical foundations and pragmatic implications. In recent years drastic cuts in research budgets have meant that available research funds have become scarce, intensifying competition among researchers without a permanent status. In particular there have been complaints on the part of social workers who could not be supported financially because of the lack of funds. There is a further cleavage within the field accompanying the one on theory and practice, relating to the split between sociologists and psychologists. The former are reproachful of the latter and accuse them of 'psychologizing' social work and social programmes. Sociologists argue that this places the accent on interventions centered on individuals rather than living conditions and institutional structures.

The meagre financial resources devoted to the social research field in France (when contrasted to those invested in social studies of a fundamental nature) reinforce its marginality. Whereas in Québec a special ministry is responsible for most of the costs of social research, in France it is fragmented among numerous ministries and institutions that impose different guidelines and operational procedures. While this diversity allows for the expression of a wide spectrum of social interests tied to the respective granting institutions, it creates numerous difficulties in the establishment of concerted efforts and renders conceptual unity almost impossible. On the other hand, a larger number of individuals are able to initiate programs in various regions of France.

As is the case in Québec, social research in France is at the heart of many economic and social issues that create public debates and confrontations in regard to the sharing of resources. One of these, as can readily be imagined, is related to getting new financial resources for the development of this research field. Another issue stems from the necessity of establishing multidisciplinary research teams that would both widen perspectives on the subject, create settings amenable to the needs of young researchers and ensure continuity in sources of funding and in research outlets and endeavours. Quite often social research in France is undertaken under contractual agreement by young researchers who are looking for a permanent research position, following a call for tenders. Under such circumstances it is difficult to establish a research network and to sustain interinstitutional cooperation.

A challenge which has been successfully met in France relates to knowledge transfer from research producers (university and non-university) to work environments. Efforts are currently being undertaken to decentralize decision-making processes; this will further enhance the knowledge transfer process by facilitating the participation of local groups in defining the most urgent problems, targeting funds required by regional research projects, and the rapid assessment of current research undertakings, all of which will contribute to successful knowledge transfer. A number of programs provide strategic and operational support to innovative efforts in research dissemination: focussed training of researchers aimed at the use of research products, seminars and colloquia devoted exclusively to the publicizing of special research results, information bulletins for wider audiences affected by a particular research project, financing of institutions acting as mediators between research settings and work environments, and calls for tenders for 'state of the art' contracts.

There are two other initiatives that deserve mention here since they are instrumental for the development of this research field in France. The first is the existence of a specialized journal (*Les Cahiers de la recherche en travail social*), which publishes theoretical and methodological research results. The other one is the appearance in 1987 of a directory of researchers active in the field (*Annuaire de la recherche sur le social*). Both publications contribute to efforts in France to more clearly define the research field and identify those researchers who are making significant contributions to its development.

5.1 LESSONS TO BE LEARNED FROM THE FRENCH SOCIAL RESEARCH FIELD

The visit to France has allowed me to better understand the field of social research there through the identification of ministries, institutions and social organizations that are active in the field either as promoters, producers or users of research product. In the light of meetings held with key individuals I gradually became aware of the impact of the socio-political contexts on the growth and development of the field. I also discovered that some French sociologists who had had the opportunity to carry on research in Québec (Claude Martin, Marc-Henry Soulet and Michel Chauvière, for instance) had developed some expertise on the nature and scope of the social research field in Québec. Parallel expert knowledge on the same field in France was, of course, practically nonexistant prior to mission. The members of the mission have been successful in establishing closer ties with visited institutions and key researchers and in devising various forms of cooperative undertakings.

In regard to cooperative ventures, I wish to highlight those relating to the information and documentation processes. It was agreed, for instance, to exchange information on current research programmes and research projects being financed by the Council. Moreover, it was understood that the Québec Council would deposit all of its research reports at the CTNERHI, which has a documentation center serving both researchers and the public throughout France. It was also agreed that pertinent research reports could be sent, upon request, to those institutions requiring them. On the other side, the Council will receive research reports that will contribute to fulfilling its triple mandate. At the time of our visit, the MIRE was hoping to send a government mission to Québec in the near future in order to consolidate existing ties.

A number of other avenues for cooperation were examined and discussed, particularly relating to collaborative efforts on team projects and research programmes. These remain in a preliminary phase since such shared activites would necessitate important changes in current research and administrative practices. The following questions were dicussed with some institutions and teams: harmonized themes (even in the absence of joint planning some of these already exist: mental health, aging and violence); comparative themes (a comparative analysis of the state of social research in several European countries); complementary themes; joint or complementary research projects; harmonized research programmes and senior fellowships, et cetera. Questions were also raised in regard to offering affiliations to researchers during their visits, and the joint organization of symposia that would allow for the direct exchange of research results among researchers. These are some of the many forms of research cooperation that are possible between France and Québec. From the Council's standpoint, relevance, feasibility and productivity are the criteria that should used for assessing them and establishing priorities.

NOTES

1. This article was first presented as a paper (in French) at one of the workshops of the Canadian Association of Medical Anthropology (CAMA/ACAM) held in Ottawa in May 1989. It uses data gathered during a mission in France in March 1988 by a group of three individuals who produced a report (Tremblay, Picard, Boisvert 1989). This report is available upon request at The Conseil Québécois de la Recherche Sociale (the CQRS), 1088 Raymond Casgrain, Québec, free of charge.

2. I wish to express my thanks to the mission colleagues Gilles Picard (a research administrator in the Ministry of Health and Social Services) and Jean-Claude Boisvert (General director of the Québec Council for Childhood and Youth) whose contribution to the mission's success is of major importance. It is more than appropriate to thank Jean-Marc Nicole, at the Délégation générale du Québec in Paris who designed our program of visits and made the appropriate contacts with institutions and individuals to organize a convenient time schedule. I also acknowledge our debt of gratitude to individuals who agreed to meet with us and answer our numerous questions; I want to let them know how much it was appreciated. In particular I wish to express my thanks to Robert Castel and Michel Chauvière of the Groupe de recherche et d'analyse du social et de la socialité and of the Institut de recherche sur les sociétés contemporaines; Jean-Noël Chopart of the Laboratoire d'études et de recherches sociales at Rouen; Claire Guignard of the Commissariat au Plan; Bernard Guibert of the Caisse nationale des allocations familiales; Christine Patron of the Centre technique national d'études et de recherche sur les handicaps et les inadaptations; Jean-Michel Lacroix of the Association française d'études canadiennes (Bordeaux); Jean-Claude Guyot, Pierre Guillaume, Daniel Cerezuelle and Francois Vedelago of the Centre de recherche en sociologie de la santé (Bordeaux); Alain Grenier of the Institut d'adolescents mixte (Macanan); Marc-Henri Soulet and Claude Martin of the Centre de recherche sur le travail social (Caen); Labastida Martin del Campo and Mr. Benachenchou of UNESCO; Stephen Mills of the Conseil international des sciences sociales; Mrs Lepaire of the Association francaise pour la sauvegarde de l'enfance et de l'adolescence; Lucien Brams and Paul Durning of the Mission Recherche et d'Experimentation; Lucien Houllemare of the Centre international de l'Enfance; Jean-Sébastien Morvan (university professor); Alain Girardet of the

Ministère de la justice and the research team at the Centre de recherche inter-disciplinaire de Vaucresson. Finally I wish to say how helpful, in so many different ways, the work of Rémi Gilbert, the Secrétaire du Conseil québécois de la recherche sociale has been, as have the personnel working in the secrétariat. None of them, of course, is responsible for the errors or misinterpretations that this article may contain. The author is President of the Conseil québécois de la recherche sociale and Professor of Anthropology at Laval University. The observations and ideas expressed here are solely his responsibility.

3. The concept of social research as used by the Conseil québécois de la recherche sociale, which is under the responsibility of the Québec ministry of health and social services, has a narrower definition than research in the social sciences. It covers the psychosocial and socio-cultural aspects of health problems, broadly defined, as well as the whole spectrum of social problems. In more positive terms, it refers to social participation and social solidarity. The latter "are to be understood from the standpoint that every person, every family or any other group must profit from social protection as well as from services required by their health status and condition, must have an equitable access to services, must have the ability to participate in community life but also count on the support of the community in their efforts devoted to bettering their quality of life and that of the immediate social environment. Social participation and solidarity prevent and reduce illness, isolation, poverty, dependency on social welfare, violence, discrimination and every other social condition creating social marginality" (Brochure 1991-1992, CQRS). This type of research can be fundamental or applied. Just about any scientific methodological procedure can be used. Under certain conditions, relative to each kind of research, the endeavour itself could be clinical, etiological, epidemiological, evaluative and experimental. It could be focussed on actors, problems or resources. Thus, individuals, practices and their epistemological grounds are all legitimate objects of social research (Ibidem).

4. There is an epistemological debate in France surrounding the labelling of social research with the aim of distinguishing it from the broader research endeavours in the social sciences and from the type of fundamental research being carried out in traditional settings such as university campuses and research institutes. Therefore, the term that is used in France to describe the social reality being covered here under the label of social research is "la recherche sur le social". I have translated this notion here by concepts such as research in the social intervention field, research aimed at solving social problems, research on social issues and the like, with the hope that it does not distort the meaning attached to it in France. The French concept is well reflected and explained in a number of books and scientific journals published in the last decade (Consult especially: Lion 1980, Barel 1982, Tachon 1982, Castel et Soulet 1985, Martin 1985, Soulet 1985, Vuillaume 1986, Chauvière 1989).

5. Here in Québec, income security no longer falls within the mandate of the Ministry of Health and Social Services, since a new ministry has been established to take on that special responsibility. In France, the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour covers the entire domain, including income security, thus conferring to "recherche sur le social" a greater extension than the concept of "recherche sociale" being used by the Québec Council.

6. The Mission de Recherche et d'Expérimentation, the MIRE, is in France the institutional counterpart of the Conseil québécois de la recherche sociale, the CQRS.

7. The great majority of its main promoters have been trained in the behavioral and the social sciences.

8. The Commissariat Général du Plan was established to promote the economic and social development of France shortly after the Second World war period.

9. New legislation, in France, does not necessarily abrogate prior corresponding laws. In the research field, it has meant that some researchers have been successful in finding loopholes which legitimate activities which would otherwise be considered irregular. For instance, the Law of 1901 has allowed a number of voluntary organizations (les associations) to use some of their financial resources for research objectives, thus creating job openings for junior researchers interested in research aimed at social intervention.

10. It is a completely free system where individuals are engaged in research pursuits perceived as creative and conducive to career advancement. They contribute to disciplinary sophistication and at the same time they consolidate their respective research interests and goals.

11. Despite its deficiencies, clearly established by the Godelier public inquiry (Godelier 1982), the CNRS has been and continues to be the pride of France in the research field. Through its regular activities, it has always promoted research excellence in all domains of scientific inquiry. France has always felt that giving freedom and financial resources to the best and most competent brains would yield commensurate results. As a consequence, the CNRS status has always been a highly-valued one. Open competitions are held, from time to time in various fields of inquiry and young PhDs with research experience never fail to enter a given competition even if they stand little chance of being selected (since the number of openings usually available is low). Once the door is open, however, the new status holder is gratified with the financial and security rewards that this formal function entails. In recent years, however, there has been a relatively small number of openings due to limits in the financial resources and the public has begun to question France's science policies and the lowering of France's scientific stature among leading nations of the world.

12. See the 1984 call for tenders of the MIRE on "Economic changes, social bonds and social insertion of groups and individuals", the 1985 one on "Structural issues in the social field" and the 1987 one on "Policies and social interventions of help to the family in its educational duties" In Chauvière 1989:121-142.

13. 'Knowledge contract', as the term is used in France, is somewhat similar to what we call here a "State of the art" endeavour. In the terminology of the Conseil québécois de la recherche sociale, it largely corresponds to a "recension des écrits" (inventory of writings) which is a critical assessment of the nature and value of available documents in a field of study, coupled with the identification of strengths and weaknesses and the identification of new research vistas to be tackled.

14. Operational research, as used here, is the kind of research "aimed at tackling an ongoing problem within some organisational framework, but which does not include or involve an experimental action" (Thomas 1985:10).

15. Michel Chauvière has undertaken in 1986 an inquiry into a large number of geographical areas of France (twelve of them) with the view of gathering "the largest quantity of information possible relating to the scientific potential engaged in research 'sur le social'" (Chauvière 1989:81). The results are presented in a chapter on Decentralized research (Chauvière 1989:81-107) and constitute the most comprehensive inventory to date in France on research aimed at social intervention. Chauvière analyses the organizational structures of local environments, relationships to professional training (social work), the implication of central and local administrative structures, the problems of financial resources and funding bodies and the social recognition of research results which are of direct use either to the government and to social organizations with action-oriented programmes.

16. For a more complete discussion, see Chauvière 1989:81-107.

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ZORA NEALE HURSTON: **Writing Culture**[1]

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The life-work of novelist/essayist/folklorist Zora Neale Hurston has been recently and lovingly salvaged from the black hole of literary oblivion. This reclamation occurs during a time of increasing attention paid to marginalia within various discourses of theory. This theoretical and historical coincidence has inspired me to question the continued relegation of Hurston's life-work to the realm of "the literary" and the virtual absence of any serious exploration of its anthropological significance. In this study, therefore, I turn to Hurston as a writer of culture.
I argue that Hurston's work exemplifies the increasingly complex contemporary "field" in which anthropologists write culture, and thus animates the contemporary rethinking underway regarding the process, product and status of ethnographic writing. Her writing of culture weaves intriguingly back and forth over the boundaries of fiction and non-fiction, white culture and black culture, wealthy urban class and poor rural class, and, perhaps most interestingly, 'subject'-anthropologist and 'object'-culture. In tracing the sense in which Hurstons's work continuously problematizes such simple we-they oppositions and the search for a singular voice, I argue that the theoretical insights of deconstruction take us a long way in understanding the politics of representation at work in Hurston's heterogeneous texts, and help us to rethink their status as 'representational'.

L'oeuvre complète de la nouvelliste/essayiste/folkloriste Zora Neale Hurston a récemment été tirés avec amour du trou noir de l'oubli littéraire. Ce sauvetage a eu lieu durant une période où une attention accrue est portée à l'art marginal et ses divers discours théoriques. Cette coïncidence historique et théorique m'a poussée à m'interroger sur la constante relégation de l'oeuvre de Hurston au royaume du «genre littéraire» et sur la quasi-absence de toute exploration de son contenu anthropologique.

Je crois que le travail de Hurston donne un exemple du «champ» de plus en plus complexe à l'intérieur duquel les anthropologues écrivent la culture, pour ainsi alimenter l'actuelle remise en question du processus, du produit et du statut de l'écriture ethnographique. Ses écrits sur la culture vont et viennent de manière fascinante entre la fiction et la non-fiction, la culture blanche et la culture noire, la classe urbaine riche et la classe rurale pauvre et, ce qui attire particulièrement notre attention, entre le «sujet-anthropologue» et l'«objet-culture». En retraçant la manière avec laquelle l'oeuvre de Hurston traite avec complexité de simples oppositions de type «nous-eux» et la recherche d'une voix unique, j'affirme que les approfondissements théoriques de la déconstruction viennent grandement éclairer les politiques de représentation à l'oeuvre dans les textes hétérogènes de Hurston, et qu'ils nous aident à repenser leur statut de «représentatifs».

I. Sketching The Field

> Zora Neale Hurston is one of the most significant unread authors in America.... What follows is openly intended to stimulate further interest in her art.... It should be acknowledged from the start that it is a white man's reconstruction of the intellectual processes in a Black woman's mind. That is not an irrelevant fact, either sexually or racially; people falsely impressed with the mythical 'objectivity' of criticism and the presumed 'universality' of literature will claim that it is. They are wrong.... A published author belongs in a special way to the world of culture

— he is subject to the inquiry of any reader who would seek his example and learn his truth.... The existential irony making criticism frustrating is that one's acceptance or rejection of such burdens is a process of self-discovery, a condition of becoming. This leaves the critic in the same tentative position as the artist: he creates offerings.

(Robert Hemenway (Hurston's biographer) 1972:109)

My voice joins the Zora Neale Hurston revival now in full swing, thanks largely to Robert Hemenway's caring biographical attention and Alice Walker's loving publication of a collection of Hurston's writings. This celebration of the life-work of a black woman folklorist/novelist/essayist is a double-take of sorts at least partly enacted in the spirit of restitution for paternalistic, often scathing dismissals of it by earlier critics. The salvaging of Hurston's life-work from the black hole of literary oblivion occurs during a time of increasing attention paid to marginalia; this co-incidence has inspired me to question the continued relegation of Hurston's life-work to the realm of 'the literary' and the virtual absence of any serious exploration of its anthropological significance[2]. It is with this broad question in mind that I turn to Hurston as a writer of culture to explore what her work has to show us about the politics of representation.

A striking feature of Hurston's life-work is the curious confluence of disdain and respect, the admixture of dislike and affection, which is exhibited in the now growing body of literature through which Hurston 'lives on.'.[3] The diversity and range of exchange which her life-work has propagated spurs important questions about the nature of her survival. The intriguing and ambiguous tone and gesture of these texts suggest that she survived, not in spite of, but because of her situation in a highly charged and complex field of differences.

As Hemenway's insight suggests, situatedness is central to the interest in and reading of Hurston. However, situatedness is never quite something which can be properly represented, for it is constituted by an infinity of power relations. Nonetheless, it can (it must) be insinuated by exemplification. I am a woman, like Hurston. I am white, unlike Hurston. These are not mere neutral differences; they are differences which are inscribed within and by a sexist and racist society. Our mutual situatedness in regard to only two differences, race and gender, works to significantly problematize the possibility of locating clear centres and margins by shifting the limits which mark positions of privilege and oppression, not only between us, but within us. With Gayatri Spivak (1988: 103-117) I suspect that the best one can do in order to sense the politics of centrism and marginality at work in any project of representation, is to explore the ways in which one's own situatedness moves against any inside/outside distinction.

My offering here will be to suggest that the politics at work in Hurston's anthropological practice begin to emerge when we read her life-work as not only a *narration* of shifting limits, but a *negotiation* of the field of double-edged constraints and opportunities within which she forged a work-life. Her life-work thus 'represents' by *exemplifying* that complex field of ethico-socio-political forces. Yet, to explore the representative character of Hurston's texts in these terms is to significantly challenge the modernist understanding of representation as mimesis, of language as a medium which makes manifest the 'bare facts' of reality, or lived experience. In exemplifying heterogeneity, Hurston's texts ineluctably require us to theorize its possibility in language.

Specifically, then, my theoretical case locates its challenge at the level of language, that material which has had to bear the burden of sustaining a preoccupation (to the point of distraction) with the separation between fiction and fact. Language has been measured almost exclusively in terms of its 'adequacy to the facts'; this myopia has sustained a tired notion of representation which has, in turn, perpetuated the dominating assumptions about scientific writing which have functioned to relegate the work of Hurston to the clearly nonscientific, clearly nonscholarly realm of fiction.

My voice thus not only joins the Hurston revival but through it, the polyphony of recent challenges to these theoretical assumptions which have marginalized her life-work in the field of anthropology. Even though the majority of Hurston's work, from novel to folklore collection to autobiography to essay, inscribes the rural Black South that was her home, this corpus has remained an improbable source for an 'accurate' cultural representation, one that would 'live up' to anthropological standards. The assumptions enabling this preclusion are what interest me in this exploration. Most straight forwardly and at minimum, my task is to introduce Hurston to an anthropological readership. More complexly, I feel this task can only be undertaken by challenging the disciplinary conventions of anthropology — both its deep-seated empiricism and its literary conventions — which have helped keep Hurston's work from

being considered as 'properly anthropological.'

It should be noted that, even though Hurston's texts have rarely been appealed to for their specifically anthropological representation, many have sought unified pictures, identities of some sort, in her corpus. Those who have attempted to read Hurston's life-work only with the aim of extracting a unified semantic content — a picture of African-American culture, a political stance, a personal identity[4] — have generally been left holding an inconsistent, contradictory piecemeal thing in their hands, a monstrosity by scholarly standards. This has contributed to the vast dissonance in critic-response to Hurston which I will document in section II of this paper. What I hope to show is that if one attunes to Hurston's many voices, rather than attempt to reduce them to one authentic voice, her life-work proves to be an extraordinarily rich cultural representation. Her acquired Northern Barnardese superbly cut by her Southern black idiom, her now-bitter-now-full-of-laughter tone, her rich deployment of metaphor, all work together to sound the struggle of a life lived through and constituted by a confluence of conflicting ethico-socio-political agendas. The significance of this for Hurston's ethnographic writing will emerge in section III.

Our attention to Hurston's 'anthropologized' writing will motivate an important rethinking about the process and products of ethnographic writing, a rethinking I will begin to elaborate through the insights of deconstruction in section IV. As I have indicated, language is central to this rethinking. I don't believe language is up to the task demanded of it by modernist expectations, that is as the transparent or symbolically encoding representor of reality. The mirror metaphor has run its course and done its damage.[5] Hurston suggests that language is like money, legal tender for getting what you want (1934: 39). It is indeed time to seriously explore the role of language as a material force in the (often tricky) negotiation of a lived life, an exploration which will impel us to (re)consider the politics of (cultural) representation.

II. Exploring the Shifting Limits

> Hurston could be read not just as an example of the 'noncanonical' writer, but as a commenter on the dynamics of any encounter between an inside and an outside, any attempt to make a statement about difference.
>
> Barbara Johnson 1987b:173

Born into the self-governing all black town of Eatonville, Florida, Zora Neale Hurston was thirteen before the purity of her childhood was violated. She entered the 'outside' world and discovered she was something importantly different — a little coloured girl. This world, governed by white men and Jim Crow laws, was a world in which survival would not come easy. From the tales told during the 'lyin' sessions' on Joe Clark's store-front porch, it was a long climb to the scientific inquiries which took place in the marble halls of Barnard. Hurston quickly learned the twisted turns of the road. She discovered that her disadvantage was her advantage. She had something which the (white) knowledge and power brokers in New York City wanted — the folkways of the rural Black South.

Hurston was first lured to New York by the flurry of Black intellectual activity which was the Harlem Renaissance. Her first writings were published in the journal *Opportunity*, a publication pivotal in initiating the Harlem Renaissance. The influence of the Harlem Renaissance on Blacks writing during the twenties, thirties, and forties was strong indeed. The Black intellectuals, the "well-bred Negroes" "newly infatuated with things European" (Walker 1977: xiii), were determined that a certain image of Blacks be put forward. They understood themselves to be transformers of the racial attitude prevalent at the turn of the century. The aim of the Harlem Renaissance was to:

> stress black achievement rather than black problems. A positive self-image...was considered the best starting point for a better chance. Inequities due to race might best be removed when reasonable men saw that black men were thinkers, strivers, doers, and were cultured, like themselves. (Huggins 1971: 5)

There were political tensions within the Harlem Renaissance movement about how best to achieve this 'proper image'. The earlier writers of the twenties were working to develop a specifically Black aesthetic, while later writers were more concerned to put forward a stronger voice of resistance in protest against racist oppression.

Hurston's work emerged in the midst of this evolution. While it was initially embraced by this group of young Black intellectuals, by the time Hurston had learned the streets of New York, her productions were caught in the intellectual crossfire and were generating uneasy criticism. The most frequent frustration of Hurston's contemporaries was her focus on 'the Negro farthest down' — the lowly folkways of the Southern uneducated Negro. Because of this focus, Hurston was often seen as failing to represent the Black race in a favourable way, thus blocking the transformation of attitudes

toward the Negro. Her work was taken to reinforce the notion that "the Negro is incapable of profiting by experience or of understanding the deeper mysteries of life." (Ford 1936: 10)

Hurston's perceived 'lack of identity' with the proper face of her race was often combined with the charge of a lack of understanding of the historical burden which she bore as a Black. In an early article titled "How It Feels To Be Coloured Me", Hurston writes:

> I am not tragically coloured. There is no great sorrow dammed up in my soul, nor lurking behind my eyes. I do not mind at all....Even in the helter-skelter skirmish that is my life, I have seen that the world is to the strong regardless of a little pigmentation more or less.
>
> Someone is always at my elbow reminding me that I am the granddaughter of slaves. It fails to register depression with me. Slavery is sixty years in the past....
>
> I have no separate feelings about being an American citizen and coloured. I am merely a fragment of the Great Soul that surges within the boundaries. My Country, right or wrong. (Hurston 1928 in Walker 1979: 153-55)

These words, written in 1928, sound the voice of Hurston which sought to suppress racial difference by embedding it within a transcendent, unified whole. At least, she made out that racial difference was secondary to other, more important things. This is the voice which inspired the following sort of unforgiving criticism:

> Miss Hurston deals very simply with the more serious aspects of Negro life in America — she ignores them. She has done right well by herself in the kind of world she found. (Bontemps 1971: 95)

What indeed are we to make of Hurston's apparent ignorance?

Darwin Turner suggests a possibility; one, I might add, which was insinuated by many of Hurston's critics. His reading of her autobiography suggests that it implies that "the road of her life was a series of stepping stones generously provided by white patrons." (Turner 1971: 91) Hurston's autobiography is puzzling in many regards, particularly if one is after self-disclosure. Those to whom she extends the most gratitude are almost all white: There was the white man who happened along in time to assist in her birth and warned her in her childhood never to "act like a nigger". There were the white women visitors who, impressed by Hurston's recitations in elementary school, sent her gifts from the North. There was Anna Meyer who assisted Hurston in being among the first Negro graduates from Barnard, and Fannie Hurst to whom Hurston was a not-very-good secretary, and Franz Boas with whom she studied anthropology. And (curiously unmentioned by Turner) there was the wealthy white benefactress, Charlotte Mason, who sponsored Hurston while she collected folklore in the South. There were more, of course. But the point is made. Turner charges Hurston with a myopia which favoured the white man over the Black, for which he offers two explanations: Either Hurston was a hypocrite, concealing her resentment of white America in order to get published, or she was immature and insecure enough to genuinely enjoy the paternalism of her white friends. (Turner 1971: 94)

Turner has not been alone in his condemnation. Hurston has been variously charged with everything from ignorance of the Negro predicament to contempt for the Negro race. Some assumed she was just naive. But many saw her ignorance as a betrayal, a deliberate forgetting of who she was, possessed of some 'helpless' subconscious urge to gratify the ego of her white friends.(Ikonne 1981: 184, 187) Others charged that Hurston "deliberately assumed a role designed to gain assistance from white people." (Turner 1971: 92) The criticism was levied by friends as well, in more insidious, satirical tones:

> In her youth [Zora Neale Hurston] was always getting scholarships and things from wealthy white people, some of whom simply paid her just to sit around and represent the Negro race for them, she did it in such a racy fashion... She could make you laugh one minute and cry the next. To many of her white friends, no doubt, she was a perfect 'darkie', in the nice meaning they give the term—that is a naive, childlike, sweet, humorous, and highly coloured Negro. (Hughes 1986: 4)

Langston Hughes wrote these words. He was a close friend of Zora's, with whom she frequently corresponded until a falling out. Somehow she generated a deep unease among her Black contemporaries, the result of which was that most never took her quite seriously as a scholar. Seen as "superficial and shallow" (Turner 1971: 120), she was excluded from this respect.

Yet the ground swell of Black dignity and creative intelligence which emerged with the Harlem Renaissance did so within a solidly apartheid social organization which had to be negotiated by every one of those 'New Negroes'. As I hinted earlier, there

is a gaping absence in Turner's discussion of Hurston: he never mentions Charlotte Mason. The tone of Hughes' passage effectively masks the fact that he himself was a beneficiary of Mason's patronage, a woman who reportedly had such a powerful hold on him that breaking with her made him physically ill. (Hemenway 1977: 104)

Indeed, the field expands in complex ways when one focuses on the relationship between the Black artists of that period and their white patrons. Charlotte Mason was an amateur anthropologist who had spent some time living among the Plains Indians while financing a project of collection. She was taken by many of her ex-proteges to be buying herself a little primitivism, "indulging her fantasies of Negroes." (Hemenway 1977: 107) From Hurston she wanted a display of aboriginal sincerity, a bit of the authentic voice of the "Negro farthest down" — one is assured in this case she meant down the great chain of Being, and not down South.

The 'loving friendship'[6] between Hurston and Mason, sustained by what Hurston once called a psychic bond, was sealed by a contract. The contract signed with Mason, who preferred to be called 'Godmother' by her proteges, promised a regular monthly allowance to do field work. The cost of this support was that Mason would reserve exclusive proprietary rights over the collections of folklore. As well, there was a limitation on Hurston's correspondence during this period, presumably because Hurston could not be trusted to know what to do commercially with the materials she collected. (Hemenway, 1977, 109-110) What Mason did trust Hurston to provide was a private showing of the authentic voice of the Negro farthest down. And she got what she wanted.

Mason was drawn to Hurston because she seemed an unspoiled child of nature'. And Hurston's performances of 'darkie stories' were convincing enough to sustain her performance of a deeply felt devotion toward 'Godmother' Mason. Yet, she was known to wink in collusion at her Black friends when her back was turned toward her white audience, apparently delighted with her own use of what she later satired as the Pet Negro System. But most of Hurston's Black friends were not playing her game, because they saw it as self-indulgent hypocrisy which did nothing to change prevalent attitudes toward the race.

Just what was Hurston's game? Can we be assured that the wink betrays the real Zora Neale Hurston, lets us in on her secret agenda, and thus provides us with the decoding key to her real cognitive intentions or her genuine emotions?

The following poetic tribute is a particularly extreme example of Hurston's puzzling performance:

> Out of the essence of my Godmother
> Out of the True one
> Out of the Wise one I am made to be
> From her breath I am born
> Yes, as the world is made new by the breath of Spring
> And is strengthened by the winds of Summer
> The Sea is stirred by its passion
> Thus, I have taken from the breath of your mouth
> From the vapour of your soul I am made to be
> By the warmth of your love I am made to stand erect
> You are the Spring and Summer of my existence.
>
> (Hurston in Walker 1979: 12)

The tone of hopeless servility is sickening, indeed. This poem, and other letters to Mason, reveal an unpleasant dimension of Hurston. The excessiveness of this poem inclines one to dismiss it as anomalous, or along with Turner, to dismiss Hurston as either grossly naive of the power relationship between herself and Mason, or too willing to stoop to it. But the poem is not anomalous. And the tendency to dismiss the excessiveness tends to blind us to the ways in which the 'strategies' being employed are recognizable, indeed quite familiar, to most of us. A double take, with the wink in mind, is in order.

The poem might as plausibly be heard as a successful exploitation of a hopelessly absurd system. This white patron who valorized the 'naive, childlike, sweet, humorous and highly coloured Negro', got what she wanted from her Godchildren at the literal expense of financing those brilliant scholars and writers in their propagation of a transformation in racial attitudes. We might read the poem's grossly lavished praise as the operation of a double edge, a barely hidden mockery which shifts between Hurston as the naive 'happy darkie' to a genteel white benefactress who has just got taken. Just who, we might instructively ask, was using whom? This question will sharpen our focus when we come to Hurston's anthropology.

Hurston's later writings support the inclination toward the second-take suggested above. By the early forties, Hurston was under her own power on the West Coast in a reflective enough mood to be writing her autobiography, an improbable situation for this daughter of the lowly South. The thirties had proven to be an exciting and productive time for her. She had published three novels, two folklore collections, and several short fictions. The forties found

her producing articles like "The Pet Negro System" (1943 *in* Walker 1979 : 156-163) in which Hurston 'gives a reading' from 'The Book of Dixie', which is critical of the very system within which she flourished:

> Now it says here, "And every white man shall be allowed unto himself a Negro. Yea, he shall take a black man unto himself to pet and to cherish...Nor shall hatred among the races of men, nor conditions of strife in the walled cities, cause his pride and pleasure in his own Negro to wane." (Hurston in Walker 1979: 156)

Hurston's clever satire incisively pinpoints the "underground hookup" which "tends to stabilize relations" and "works to prevent hasty explosions" among blacks and whites. (Hurston, *in* Walker 1979 : 160) Hurston understood very well how she participated in perpetuating the very system which racially oppressed her. Her "Crazy For This Democracy" (1945 *in* Walker 1979 : 165-169) irreverently plays havoc with FDR's phrase "the arsenal of democracy" by turning it into the "arse-and-all of democracy". These articles, and many others which more openly display bitterness, were published in Black journals. But do we rest assured, finally, that these pieces put forward Hurston's authentic voice?

With Barbara Johnson[7], I want to suggest that the search for an 'authentic voice' flattens, and thereby misunderstands the complexity of the system which is displayed in Hurston's life-work. Hurston and her Black contemporaries were engaged in a process of pushing limits which had not been pushed before. But those who put forward a singularity of voice and purpose do so at the expense of suppressing the lived difficulty of enacting that transformation. Hurston was both indebted to and bitter about the petting system. She was both grateful to and resentful of white patronage. She both loved American democracy and despised it. What has made her writing frustrating to those who seek in it singularity of voice is that she was unable to hide the irreducibly double-edged quality of the process of change. She was most certainly not the only one of her contemporaries who had to negotiate this catch 22; she was simply among the few who did not hide it successfully. It is arguably the case that Hurston's extraordinary creativity emerged, not in spite of this experienced double-edge, but as an effect of it.

In turn, the effect of Hurston's 'self-difference' is that her texts resist the grounds which would enable definitive answers to questions like 'Who is the Negro race?' The project to define and establish a race-identity is a project which frustrated her, and about which she was often critical. Later in her life, this criticism was voiced openly — in her earlier works, it had to be lifted from between the lines. Yet, to read Hurston as someone who dealt with the race problem by ignoring it seems a dismissive reading. Though she refused to answer the question 'Who is the Negro race?', she nonetheless responded to it endlessly and tirelessly. Her life-work suggests that, although the question sought an impossibility, it nonetheless could never be set aside as unimportant. Rather, it should be understood to have multiple answers, even from a single person, a single corpus, and its multiple answers can only be strategically played out against one another, through time, and within specifically charged contexts.

Of course, the contexts of Hurston's life-work continue to change. Hurston's audience has grown and shifted in her wake; in her death she continues to survive, grow and even transform. If the politics of race explicitly badgered Hurston during her life, the politics of gender operated only implicitly in her texts until recently when Black feminists began "searching for their mother's gardens"[8]. Gender is inscribed in equally multiple and unsettling ways in Hurston's texts. From the ex-slave Nanny who desperately wants her granddaughter Janie to marry a Black man with property to Janie's three-marriage movement toward a liberated love, from the tragic liberation of the abused washerwoman Delia to Missie May who lovingly accepts her role as subservient wife, Hurston's texts play out the double-jeopardy without ever reducing its difficulty to singular answers. They thus have important implications for those who would seek a unified, homogeneous, feminist voice.[9]

The task of this paper, however, is to consider what lessons multivocality as self-difference has for the writing of culture by exploring how Hurston's texts play out the politics of that representation. I turn now to the Eatonville anthropology.

III. Eatonville Anthropology

> From the earliest rocking of my cradle, I had known about the capers Brer Rabbit is apt to cut and what the Squinch Owl says from the house top. But it was fitting me like a tight chemise. I couldn't see it for wearing it. It was only when I could see myself like somebody else and stand off and look at my garment. Then I had to have the spy-glass of Anthropology to look through at that.
>
> (Zora Neale Hurston 1935: 3)

The scientific enterprise was initially quite seductive for Hurston. Franz Boas, Hurston's anthropological mentor, was simultaneously committed to objective research and liberal racial views. He played an important role in debunking standard physiological determinants of Negro inferiority; extraordinarily, Hurston herself entered the streets of Harlem, calliper in hand, to collect data meant to assist Boas in his effort to disprove such claims. Boas was particularly interested in the African survivals in African-American culture, and was convinced Hurston could help him as a documenter of this culture. Hurston, deeply impressed with Boas' "genius for objectivity," was proud indeed when he arranged financing for her initial fieldwork through the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, offering to oversee the project himself (Hemenway 1977: 89).

Although Boas expressed some concern that Hurston tended to be "a little too impressed with her own accomplishments," he assumed nonetheless that:

> she could enter the black folk milieu at a different level from that of most previous collectors. The problem was that white collectors, no matter how earnest, liberal, kind, sympathetic, and well meaning, were always...outsiders looking in. (Hemenway 1977 : 89)

This daughter of Eatonville, with the "map of Florida on her tongue", promised to make new breakthroughs in collecting African-American folk tales.

But Hurston's initial return to Eatonville, in her shiny grey Chevrolet, threw into sharp relief the dual consciousness that had taken shape in the years she had been in the North.

> My first six months were disappointing. I found out later that it was not because I had no talents for research, but because I did not have the right approach. The glamour of Barnard College was still upon me. I dwelt in marble halls. I knew where the material was all right. But, I went about asking in carefully accented Barnardese, "Pardon me, but do you know any folk-tales or folk-songs?" (Hurston 1942: 174)

Hurston's attempt at emulating scientific objectivity by being a documenter of culture did not suffice once she was in 'the field', her territorial home. She had to figure out how to entice those tales out of her old friends; she had to find an old voice to do it:

> "Ah come to collect some old stories and tales and Ah know y'all know a plenty of 'em and that's why Ah headed straight for home."
> "What you mean, Zora, them big old lies we tell when we're jus' sittin' around here on the store porch doin' nothin'?", asked B. Mosely
> "Yeah, those same ones about Ole Massa, and coloured folks in heaven, and —oh, y'all know the kind I mean."
> "Aw shucks," exclaimed George Thomas doubtfully. "Zora, don't you come here and tell de biggest lie first thing. Who you reckon want to read all them old-time tales about Brer Rabbit and Brer Bear?" (Hurston 1978 reprint of Hurston 1935 : 9)

So begins Hurston's narrative about the collection adventure itself which required a good deal of inveigling, some lyin' tales of her own offered along the way. In Polk County, she was met with closed mouths until she shifted in just the right way:

> "Miss, you know uh heap uh dese hard heads wats to woof at you but dey skeered."
> "How come, Mr. Pitts? Do I look like a bear or panther?"
> "Naw, but dey say youse rich and dey ain't got de nerve to open dey mouth."...
> ..."Oh, Ah ain't got doodley squat," I countered. "Mah man brought me dis dress de las' time he went ot Jacksonville. We wuz sellin' plenty stuff den and makin' good money. Wisht Ah had dat money now." (Hurston 1978 reprint of Hurston 1935 : 68)

A tale of a bootlegging fugitive from justice sounded reasonable to Hurston's questioners. A clever slip into another tongue won their confidences. Hurston was thus able to manipulate the art of tall-tale-telling, to wear it as a mask, in order to get behind the veil and give the reader the insider's stories. Boas was pleased:

> It is the great merit of Miss Hurston's work that she entered into the homely life of the southern Negro as one of them and was fully accepted as such by the companions of her childhood. Thus she has been able to penetrate through that affected demeanour by which the Negro excludes the White observer effectively from participating in his true inner life. (Hurston 1978 reprint of Hurston 1935 : x)

But as Barbara Johnson's incisive reading of *Mules and Men* suggests, a double-take is in order (Johnson 1987b: 172-184). Just who is wearing the mask and who is being unmasked? The following provocative introductory passage by Hurston invites important questions about veils and masks, and other such play toys:

> Folklore is not as easy to collect as it sounds. The best source is where there are the least outside

influences and these people, being usually under-privileged, are the shyest. They are most reluctant at times to reveal that which the soul lives by. And the Negro, in spite of his open-faced laughter, his seeming acquiescence, is particularly evasive. You see we are a polite people and we do not say to our questioner, "Get out of here!" We smile and tell him or her something that satisfies the white person because, knowing so little about us, he doesn't know what he is missing. The Indian resists curiosity by a stony silence. The Negro offers a feather-bed resistance. That is, we let the probe enter, but it never comes out. It gets smothered under a lot of laughter and pleasantries."

The theory behind our tactics: "The white man is always trying to know into somebody else's business. All right, I'll set something outside the door of my mind for him to play with and handle. He can read my writing but he sho' can't read my mind. I'll put this play toy in his hand, and he will seize it and go away. Then I'll say my say and sing my song. (Hurston 1978 reprint of Hurston 1935 : 18)

Hurston's professed faith in scientific objectivity seems to slip away as this passage unfolds. Is she the prober, or the withholder? When "The Negro" becomes "we", does Zora's seeming acquiescence to the project of cultural penetration slip into an evasive featherbed resistance? Are her intentions honourable? Or are her hidden emotions betrayed here? Does she mean to openly write the soul of this "homely life", this nonliterate culture? Or is *Mules and Men* a writing put outside the door of Hurston's mind for the reader who so wants to know into her culture's business that he'll seize it and go away satisfied, not knowing what he's missed.

This subversive quality of Hurston's writing is further implied when *Mules and Men* ends with an unexpected tale. It is unexpected because the entire second half of the book is devoted to hoodoo practices, not tales. Then suddenly, without explanation, Hurston closes off her narrative reportage by telling this tale:

Once Sis Cat got hongry and caught herself a rat and set herself down to eat 'im. Rat tried and git loose but Sis Cat was too fast and strong. So jus' as de cat started to eat 'im he says, "Hol' on dere, Sis Cat! Ain't you got no manners at all? You going set up to de table and eat 'thout washing yo' face and hands?"

Sis Cat was mighty hongry but she hate for de rat to think she ain't got no manners, so she went to de water and washed her face and hands and when she got back de rat was gone. So de cat caught herself a rat again and set down to eat. So de Rat said, "Where's yo' manners at, Sis Cat? You going to eat 'thout washing yo' face and hands?

"Oh, Ah got plenty manners," de cat told 'im. "But Ah eats mah dinner and washes mah face and uses mah manners afterwards." So she et right on 'im and washed her face and hands. And cat's been washin' after eatin' ever since. I'm sitting here like Sis Cat, washing my face and usin' my manners. (Hurston 1978 reprint of Hurston 1935 : 251-2)

This extraordinary ending leaves us wondering just what manners Hurston is using here. What pleasantries has she come to master? Who is the cat and who is the rat? As Johnson suggests, one cannot help wondering who, in the final analysis, has swallowed what? The reader? Mason? Boas? Hurston herself?

Zora, with her open-faced laughter, seems to be wearing the Cheshire Cat's grin. What are we to make of the performance to which we have been treated? Just whose side is she on?

IV. Writing A System of Differences

One can begin by transgressing one's own usual practices, by indulging in some judicious time-wasting with what one does not know how to use, or what has fallen into disrepute. What the surprise encounter with otherness should do is lay bare some hint of an ignorance one never knew one had.

-Barbara Johnson (1987c:16)

The uneasy meeting of Black politics, white money, and scientific inquiry charge Hurston's anthropological enterprise with a strongly subversive quality. The difficulty, however, is that it is ultimately impossible to tell for whom she performs. Her presentation negotiates the threshold which separates 'us from them' — Black from white, wealth from poverty, and scientific knowledge from folk wisdom — not by translating one into the other, but by playing them off one another in a way that resists ultimate determination. She is a double agent. Her performative use of language operates a coded resistance — not one which we can ultimately decipher by finding the correct decoding key — but one which subverts the very possibility of locating an authentic, univocal, intention.

The politics of representation are thus foregrounded in Hurston's life-work through the power of language to double mean. The modernist under-

standing of scientific representation, governed by an ideology of mimesis, has pushed this dangerous capacity of language to the theoretical margins. The ideology of mimesis commits us to a reproduction of reality which minimizes the effect of 'distorting' interventions, like human bias or the equivocations of language. That is, the true task of representing reality in modernist terms is to **re**-present it with as much vividness and perspicuity as possible; to let the voice of reality **present** itself with as little interruption or static as possible.

This ideology of representation is enabled by a particular account of language which can be sketched in these terms: Language is understood to operate within a linearly conceived space in which, for example, the written sign **represents** the spoken sign, which **represents** the idea, which **represents** the perceived thing. The order of this chain has changed historically with various philosophical orientations; the order is not crucial. Rather, what requires emphasis is that language is understood to operate as a 'vehiculator' of an already constituted semantic content which is transported through this system with no loss, no change, in meaning. The notion of self-evidence permeates this ideology, and generates a theory of the sign as re-presentation of the self-evidence, the presence, with which we encounter the objective thing-itself (or the idea, or the intentions, or the experience). Even when the sign is theorized as a metaphorical symbol, a coded expression of subjective meaning, it is nonetheless a representation of a semantic content which can be read off once properly decoded. Within this understanding of the communicative space through which language operates and meaning travels, there is no room for heterogeneity or interruption; all such interventions are considered accidental and distorting.[10]

An account of language as the univocal transporter of singularly proper meanings, whether literally read or metaphorically deciphered, cannot account for how the playful ambiguity of Hurston's anthropological text works to seriously undermine the very project of accurate representation. It cannot make sense of how her performances have been read and used in her wake by such a wide diversity of interested readers. It cannot account for the material difference language makes in a lived life, full of ambiguity and conflict and double-edged opportunities. Gloria Hull makes this provocative observation:

> When Black women 'speak', 'give a reading', or 'sound' a situation, a whole history of using language as a weapon is invoked. Rooted in slave folk wisdom which says: "Don't say no more with your mouth than your back can stand," our vocalizing is directly linked to a willingness to meet hostilities head-on and persevere. (Hull 1982: 200)[11]

Language as a material force deployed in the process of survival is neglected altogether by most philosophers of language who instead take scientific writing as the paradigm case of language at its best and most important. We need a rethinking of language which understands how, through all its equivocations, interruptions, and double-meanings, language operates as a currency, possessed most powerfully by the dispossessed, which negotiates a life.

The deconstructive lessons about language take us a long way toward such rethinking. Theorized as a code of relations language is understood to be constituted by elements of signification (letters, words, texts) which have no substance of their own, apart from the relations of similarity and difference which bind them to other elements. Meanings are capable of shifting as they are reworked and repositioned in new contexts. The movement of this shifting is theorized by the neologism 'differance', which combines the spatial verb 'to differ' with the temporal verb 'to defer'. Identities are thus taken to be 'differentially constituted', made possible only through their difference from and deferral of other differences.

The 'citationality' of language — the lifting and re-inscribing constitutive of language use — functions to remotivate meanings in ever-differing contexts. This may not be a radical process. Indeed, it is confirmed by the gradual etymological transformation of meanings. Yet, the deconstructive critique argues that even within smaller temporal frameworks, the range of meanings of language, of 'discrete' elements of signification (such as an utterance, or a given text) is a function of the complex field of (power) differences within which those 'texts' operate. Viewed deconstructively, no text is free of the movement of 'differance'. Each text, as a differential unity, harbours heterogeneous elements and thus bears the potential of 'breaking apart', of operating against itself. There is, in this sense, no proper, determinate meaning of a text. Texts are 'undecidable' in principle. That is, endless heterogeneity enables all texts to be endlessly reread and reworked.

It strikes me as a mistake, however, to assume that deconstruction opens the door to an anything-goes version of interpretation. Indeed, the point to be emphasized is that deconstruction attempts to

provide a theoretical understanding of language which relocates (not eliminates) the assumed constraints operating in the interpretive process. Readings are not normatively constrained by some abstract 'proper' meaning governing the text (or life, or utterance). Rather, readings are constrained by the ethico-socio-political forces constitutive of any reading moment. These constraints are many and powerful, and are often in profound tension with one another. They constitute the 'excess' which gets translated out in any singular reading of a 'text' — a piece or body of writing, a person's life, a culture.

It is in this sense that any use of language, i.e. any 'text', is irreducibly political. Every reading is a 'misreading' in the sense that there can be no ultimately proper meaning of a text. This is the effect of undecidability. Hurston is constituted differentially by her ambiguous situation in a field of power relations: white and black, male and female, sophisticate and folk, wealth and poverty, science and art, objective and subjective. Her writing both inscribes and politically negotiates this tensioned field of double-edged constraints and opportunities. Her use of language enables her to play both sides of the field, to play them off one another, to use their dissonance as a transformative force. She is neither merely an objective anthropologist, nor has she simply gone subjectively native. Nor is she a synthetic unity, a native anthropologist who will 'subjectively access' to 'objectively tell' the real insider's story. To reduce her texts to one side or the other is to translate out that force which is both untranslatable and irreducibly at work in her texts, namely, their undecidability.

It is in this sense that any use of her texts (including my own) is a political act, an 'appropriation' by interested, situated readers whose interpretive translations provisionally repress the excess in her texts in order to strategically press her voice into the service of some project. But the provisional status of such representations, and the untranslatable excess which they ignore, are extraordinarily important to any understanding of the politics of representation, which is the politics of survival. For the ultimate double-bind is that survival depends upon that which is lost, but nonetheless at work, in translation. That is, our salvaging from the black hole of oblivion depends upon the effects of undecidability — the possibility of iteration in ever-differing contexts by newly situated readers. Of course, the profound burden of survival is that you can never fully anticipate how your life-work will be received and put into service.

NOTES

1. A condensed version of this paper was presented at the annual meetings of the Canadian Ethnology Society/Société canadienne d'ethnologie held in Ottawa, May 1989. The writing, presenting and subsequent publication of the paper was accomplished in large part as a result of Carole Farber's continuous encouragement. I thank Carole also for her unique facilitation of the graduate seminar in Anthropological Theory which gave birth to this paper. Thanks also to James J. Leach, who, with his usual clarity, insightfulness and caring attention, read and commented on an early draft of this paper.

2. As the final draft of this paper was prepared for publication, I was made aware of bell hook's new book Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics (Toronto: Between the Lines Publishing, 1990) which contains an article entitled "Saving Black Folk Culture: Zora Neale Hurston as anthropologist and writer." hooks locates the fascination of Hurston's work at the juncture of fiction and science as I do, and is similarly inclined to explore, rather than dismiss, Hurston's apparent contradictions as a form of resistance to the demand for scientific objectivity in anthropological work. I am trying in this paper to develop the theoretical implications of such resistance for anthropology. I am grateful to Carole Farber for bringing this contribution to Hurston scholarship to my attention.

3. The notion that survival is obtained only through the implicit 'contract', the mutual debt, between author and 'translator' or interpreter (reader) is superbly articulated by Jacques Derrida (1985: 165-207).

4. In an analysis of Afro-American autobiography titled "My Statue, My Self", Elizabeth Fox-Genovese (1988: 63-90) suggests that Hurston's autobiography fails to clearly depict a self because, at least in part, Hurston aspired "to transcend the constraints of group identification by insisting on being a self independent of history, race, and gender..."(82) Fox-Genovese does locate a self-difference within Hurston, but she sees it as an impasse, a "deadlock" (83), which disabled Hurston in her attempts at self-depiction. I am attempting to ask a different question of Hurston's writing which read's her self-difference as an experienced complex dynamism, an irreducible effect of her historical, racial, gendered, and classed situatedness, and the generative force of her creativity.

5. In Anglo-American philosophy, Standard, nonidiomatic, 'proper' English has served as the paradigmatic model of language, and thus the proper object of language analysis. To my knowledge, no serious attention has been paid to dialect in philosophy. This body of language analysis has operated hand-in-glove with positivist scientific inquiry. While most social-scientific disciplines have entered a 'post-positivistic' era, I am convinced they have done so without fully analyzing the residue of positivist assumptions built into our understanding and use of language. Ethnocentrism permeates inquiry in subtle and complex ways.

6. Robert Hemenway cautions against reactionary mockery of the affection Zora may have legitimately had for Mason. Even so, he acknowledges the doubleness of the relationship: "It is unfair to interpret such a bond simply as Hurston's willing belief to insure patronage. On the other hand, it is hard to believe that Hurston did not recognize Mrs. Mason's wealth as a key to her future." (Hemenway 1977:108) The either/or choice implied is being 'deconstructed' and displaced in the present reading of Hurston.

7. I am indebted to Johnson's two marvellous readings of Hurston's work. (1987a and 1987b). I am, in effect, seeking here to extend her insights into the realm of anthropology.

8. The phrase comes from Alice Walker and suggests those overlooked corners of their fore-mother's lives in which creativity flourished despite unspeakable hardships (1983: 231-244).

9. There is, I think, a case to be made that the effect of the many dissonant black figures in Hurston's fiction is to problematize any unified race- or sex-identity. The categories 'black' and 'woman' might instructively be read against one another as a display of a radical heterogeneity.

10. This gloss of the mimetic conceptualization of language is from Jacques Derrida (1982: 307).

11. Lorraine Bethel affirms this insight in her article in the same volume (1982). The linkage to be drawn between black idiom and the blues, understood as a coded language of resistance, is fertile and important ground for language theory.

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Doing Unto Others: Applied Anthropology, Collaborative Research and Native Self-determination

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This paper examines applied anthropology in relation to Native self-determination. Adherence to the principle of self-determination in research produces a fundamental shift from independent to collaborative research. The paper discusses Native people's involvement in research design and the role of aboriginally defined policy in shaping the parameters of applied research.

The research-policy nexus remains dominated by non-Native practitioners and bureaucrats employing inappropriate methodologies. Anthropologists can strengthen interdisciplinary research by advocating the use of participatory and other qualitative research techniques which Native people view as 'culturally appropriate'.

Cet essai traite de l'anthropologie appliquée mise en rapport avec l'autodétermination des autochtones. On note une mutation radicale de la recherche indépendante à la recherche collective lorsque le principe de l'autodétermination est mis en application. L'auteur décrit l'engagement des autochtones dans l'élaboration d'une recherche et le rôle de leur politique concernant les paramètres de la recherche appliquée.

Les praticiens et bureaucrates non-autochtones aux méthodes inadéquates détiennent toujours le monopole du lien entre cette politique et la recherche. Les anthropologues peuvent renforcer la recherche interdisciplinaire en encourageant la recherche collective et toute autre technique de recherche qualitative jugée «culturellement appropriée» par les autochtones.

In this paper[1] I discuss an idea which, at first glance, appears self-evident: that anthropologists concerned with Native issues should be guided in their work by an adherence to the principle of Native self-determination. Adherence to this principle indicates a fundamental shift from independent to collaborative research.[2] Applied anthropologists can assist Native people in informing 'mainstream' social and natural scientists of the need to enter into collaboration with Native people. From a Native perspective, applied collaborative research enhances the self-determination process. From a disciplinary perspective, however, collaboration remains problematic because academic experts are forced to relinquish control over the research process. But I argue that a shift to collaborative and inter-disciplinary research is urgently required if anthropology is to be relevant within the context of the self-determination movement. In the nexus between participatory methodologies and inter-disciplinary research, a truly forceful Native policy science can emerge.

The reference to the Golden Rule in the title was used in a conversation with Art Solomon, a Native Elder, who asked, somewhat rhetorically, whether I would tolerate my own methods, or passively accept my interpretations, if I were member of a Native com-

munity. The title, then, is meant to elicit consideration of those conceptual and methodological underpinnings of our discipline that relegate Native people to passive roles as 'objects' in our research. It is time for anthropology to move from writing *about* Native people or speaking *for* Native people, to working *with* Native people. Applied anthropology must move the discipline beyond sterile questions of representation and reflexivity in ethnographic texts to a dialogue concerning method, process and praxis. To borrow a thought from Flannery's Old Timer, it is time to question what Native people really want from anthropology (Flannery, 1982: 272). What they desire, I believe, is nothing short of full partnership in the research process; a partnership that leaves behind the antiquated role of informant.

I distinguish between collaborative action or participatory research[3] where research participants are directly involved in the study design and analysis, and interdisciplinary research, which involves teams of professionals (following J. Schensul *et al*, 1987; and S. Schensul, 1987). If the 'subjects' of our study are not directly involved in formulating research problems, and in interpreting the data, then collaboration does not take place. The degree and quality of Native involvement in research distinguishes collaboration from consultation. Native people have rejected this latter approach as a strategy which governments use to rationalize Indian policy or to make policy more digestible to the public at large. All too often consultation with colleagues, policy makers or Native leaders in advance of research passes for 'collaboration' (see for example, Miles-Tapping, 1990; O'Neil and Waldram, 1989).

My own experience in collaborative research has involved contractual research as a practicing anthropologist. Native front-line workers, elders and policy makers have been responsible for designating research problems and have contributed to the research through their involvement in research committees, focus groups and workshops. In this way, Native collaborators have been involved in all stages of the research, including the interpretation of data (see Warry, 1990, 1986; McCaskill *et al*, 1989). My experience suggests that a loss of power over the use or interpretation of data is a natural by-product of the collaborative process. At times my ability to pursue certain issues has been restricted, and my interest in gathering data that might directly contribute to theoretical discussions in anthropology has been curtailed by the practical concerns of my Native collaborators.

Despite these observations, I do not believe that collaborative applied research endangers the advancement of a general theory of culture - I assume that applied collaborative anthropology, in developing responsible praxis, is in no way 'anti-theory'. A shift to Native control over the research process, however, will inevitably involve greater reliance on contractual agreements between academics and Indian Bands. This practice will force academics to explicitly negotiate research designs and will lead to a constructive dialogue between Natives and non-Natives concerning the relationship between 'basic' and 'applied' research.

Anthropology and Native Self-determination

Beginning with the Report of the Special Parliamentary Committee on Indian Self-Government (Canada, 1983), a host of government policy statements have affirmed Native people's right to self-determination, even while tripartite negotiations aimed at entrenching the right to self-government in the Canadian constitution have stagnated. The current stalemate in constitutional negotiations is related to the potentially sweeping implications - and financial costs - associated with a concept which, in the words of Weaver, remains at the level of a 'value notion' (1984:65).[4]

The ultimate nature and cost of self-government is unquestionably vague. The potential parameters of Native self-government, however, are exceptionally clear, and have been defined by numerous studies (see for example, Jackson, 1988; Ontario, 1989, 1988). Self-government entails the right of First Nations to exercise authority and to legislate in areas such as social and cultural development, resource use, family relations, law, revenue raising and economic development. The goal of Native self-determination, in concert with its political counterpart, self-government, involves the recognition of inherent and sovereign rights. It encompasses political control, rather than simple administrative authority over community affairs. The control and ownership of intellectual property, as well as natural resources, is intrinsic to this process. Recognition of this fact extends beyond the obvious - the need for negotiation concerning publication and the financial dividends derived from research - to the development of truly collaborative research methods which fully engage Native communities. Our discipline must recognize that authority over the research process is an obvious component of socio-cultural development. Native control over research can potentially reinforce community and

cultural identity. The concept of self-determination, therefore, is connected to the intellectual health of individuals and communities as a whole. The ability of Native communities to determine their future is quite naturally related, in part, to their ability to generate meaningful research.

Recognition of the right to self-determination, however, has not found its way into mainstream academia. This fact belies the notion of collective morality and advocacy within our discipline. That individual anthropologists have acted as forceful advocates for Native communities and causes cannot be denied (see for example, Asch, 1984; Paine, 1985; Salisbury, 1986, 1977). It may also be true that anthropologists have, to some small degree, raised the consciousness of the Canadian public with regard to the manifest problems faced by Native communities. But this small 'a' advocacy is an astute and non-threatening academic strategy given the current political climate in Canada (Van Esterick, 1985). Much more difficult is to revise our notions of the research process itself, and to make our research relevant - both theoretically and programmatically - to the aims and aspirations of Native communities.

Ryan has noted that anthropology professes ethical practice at the individual level, but that from a disciplinary perspective, we have failed to formulate an adequate standard of behaviour with regard to accountability and the relevancy of our research (Ryan, 1978: 128, 130). It is time for Canadian anthropologists to take seriously the challenge to 'decolonize' anthropology and to make the discipline accountable and relevant to the local communities who are the subject of much of our study.

Taken as a collective body of work, anthropological research has been scarred by an inability to *consistently* produce research of an applied or theoretical nature, which is truly meaningful in addressing the manifest problems faced by Native communities.[5] The philosophical and structural foundations of the discipline encourage the possession, propagation and ownership of indigenous knowledge through esoteric control over research in order to construct and protect university-based careers. In sum, anthropology continues to engage in neo-colonial research which exploits indigenous knowledge.

This is not an original criticism. The commoditization of knowledge, as noted by Hall (1979), is directly linked to a syndrome of academic processes - including the nature of journals, conferences, academic seniority and tenure - whereby academics package their research for sale in order to advance their own careers. Hall's argument develops from his experience in adult education in third and fourth world settings and is not directly addressed to anthropology. But given our natural alliance with Native people, anthropology must assume a lead role in the decolonization of social and physical science research.

At the heart of this process lies the relationship between the social scientist and the subject - or 'object' - of research:

> For a person in a university or a research institution knowledge is effectively a commodity. In the narrowest sense, researchers gather or 'mine' ideas or information in order to survive and advance economically. Priorities are given to collecting data at a central point, summarizing it and then packaging it in such a way that it can be marketed. The need to serve as policy-makers is also recognized by some as an additional market. The need to serve the people from whom the information has been gathered...is indirect and by necessity of low priority. (Hall, 1977: 23).

If we advocate Native control over land and natural resources, and increased Native involvement in resource industries as part of a strategy of 'sustainable' development, then we must reflect - and act - on the need for similar changes within the industry of anthropology.

Hall's comments are salient given the fact that Native communities are increasingly aware of the exploitation of their communities by outside researchers.[6] Native people's view of researchers in general, and anthropologists in particular, often extends beyond mere skepticism (see O'Neil and Waldram, 1989: 13) to derision and distrust. Native people view anthropology as largely esoteric, irrelevant and as incapable of contributing to solutions to problems facing their communities. Native people say they have been 'researched to death', a statement that is at first glance perplexing given the obvious and manifest research needs of Native communities. But this 'research lament' is easily understood within the self-determination context (Warry, 1990). Research findings, cloaked in jargon, have been unintelligible to communities or have been largely irrelevant to community needs. Academic reputations, so the argument goes, have been built on the backs of Native subjects and at the political and economic expense of Native communities. Native

leaders now advocate research that is collaborative and meaningful to their communities. The 'meaning' of research is directly measured by its relevance to the self-determination movement.

Awareness concerning the potential value of research varies enormously between Native communities. Many communities have neither the inclination, nor the local expertise, to generate research agendas, or standards for local research. This is particularly true in the far north where, despite licencing by the Science Institute of the Northwest Territories, there is, each summer, a massive influx of natural and social scientists. Inuit community representatives often lack the time or expertise to gauge the potential usefulness of research or are unable to generate their own research agendas (personal communication J.P. Chartrand). In contrast, in southern Canada, a number of Native communities routinely enter into contractual relationships before allowing researchers to enter their communities (Walpole, 1986).

Native leaders do not question the need for research *per se*. Indeed, they clearly recognize that the information needs of their communities are manifest. But they decry the monopolistic control of academics over the research process. Specifically, they argue that the analysis and interpretation of research findings must take account of indigenous science, which is based on experiential and humanistic interpretation, and that the ultimate use of data can only be determined by indigenous, rather than academic needs (cf. Mohawk, 1985; Jackson *et al* 1982).[7]

The Research-Policy Nexus

Policy may be broadly defined as a set of values for planned action which must take place within an environment of limited or restricted financial resources. Native aspirations raise a series of questions about the relationship between research and policy development. Most obvious among these is the issue of 'whose policy' should guide the identification of research problems. The quest for Native self-government is colored by competing government and Native views on the nature and pace of social change. For many federal and provincial policy makers, the concept of self-government remains a radical notion. Bureaucrats insist on legislative fine tuning, even as Indian organizations call for fundamental structural change. The politics of incrementalism, prevalent in government circles, serve as a barrier to the development of innovative policy initiatives which would propel the self-government process along its inevitable course (Warry 1990).

The structuralist and incrementalist approaches are, in part, attributable to the bureaucratic and Native political and communicative structures. Ideally, authority and decision making in Indian organizations flow from the bottom up: from band members to chiefs, to regional Tribal Councils and, finally, to provincial and national organizations (Castellano, 1982: 116). As important, Native leaders often emphasize holistic solutions to community based problems, while stressing the diversity of cultural groups and the autonomy of First Nations. Provincial and Federal bureaucracies in contrast, encourage specialized expertise and create compartmentalized policies that deny holistic solutions and attempt to homogenize cultural and geographic differences between First Nations. As Fleras (1989: 214- 215) notes, bureaucratic commitments to universalism and legal equality serve as powerful disincentives in restraining aboriginal positions derived from notions of 'special status'. Government concern for financial restraint leads to an over-emphasis on program evaluation and administration. A lack of inter-ministerial co-ordination confounds attempts to develop holistic programs at any level, including the local level (cf. Castellano, 1982; Warry, 1990).

Native policy making has been enhanced by the development of Tribal Councils and larger provincial Native political unions, which assume a lead role in tripartite negotiations, policy research and program development. From the government's perspective the funding of political unions or tribal councils enhances the development of uniform policy with regard to Native people, while officially recognizing Indian political cultural diversity. Government agencies are also reluctant to 'release' control over the research and policy making process. However, Native political organizations are hampered by inadequate staffing in research and policy positions, and by a shortage of trained researchers. Staff time is quickly consumed by comprehensive claims and a variety of political negotiations. Nor do aboriginal organizations always perceive the value in applied research, even when it is collaborative in nature. As a result, a wide range of policy research concerning - for example, social or medical services, housing and welfare reform - is unaddressed.

Applied anthropologists are well suited to policy related research in this fertile middle ground between government and Indian organizations. Pro-

grammatic, rather than comprehensive, issues afford anthropologists an immense opportunity to pursue research that can lead to incipient models for self-governing institutions. The phrase, 'incipient models', is used here to distinguish Native controlled programs or institutions that are developed in the absence of a constitutional and legislative recognition of Native people's right to self-determination. Such applied programmatic research can provide Native leaders with a wealth of information that can be used to develop, for example, culturally appropriate family and social services or integrated models for education or health delivery. Anthropologists can provide a wealth of information to Native political organizations by directly involving Native frontline workers as key collaborators in the research process. In this way, applied research can directly enhance the formulation of Native policy and legislation.

The unwillingness of federal and provincial governments to support Native policy research is a critical aspect of political and bureaucratic control over Indian people. Despite the growing numbers of aboriginal consultants, the shortage of skilled Native researchers forces Indian organizations to rely on non-native consultants or academics on a project by project basis.

Despite the shortage of researchers at the community level, Native experts exist in the form of front-line workers whose experience represents a wealth of knowledge concerning community life. Government policy makers rarely recognize these local experts as important sources of information. Policy formation is greatly enhanced by involving front-line workers as key collaborators, or by designing programs that have information gathering as a key component of service delivery (Homenuck, 1984: 52). The need to recognize 'Native science', which is based on experiential rather than experimental or statistical validation of knowledge, as a reliable component of a policy research process is a major objective of many Native leaders who feel thwarted by the continued domination of the research-policy nexus by non-Native practitioners and bureaucrats employing inappropriate methodologies.

Anthropological research draws on this local expertise by way of qualitative techniques, including the use of focus groups, life histories and case studies, thereby affirming indigenous science as an essential component of policy development. This contribution, coupled with the use of culturally appropriate interview techniques creates a natural alliance between Native policy makers and anthropologists. For example, unstructured interviews have been shown to be vastly superior to standard questionnaires employing closed questions, which are commonly regarded as 'tests' by Native people and rarely solicit accurate assessment of local lifestyles (Farkas *et al*, 1989).

At an analytical level, the comparative method is ideally suited to the description and interpretation of needs and impact assessments, program design and policy development concerning divergent geographic and cultural communities. Likewise, anthropologists' traditional focus on integrated analysis is culturally compatible with Native efforts to design and implement (w)holistic solutions to community based problems. To be effective, researchers must collaborate directly with Native political organizations in order to distinguish priorities for research. Such consultation can map out a wide range of potential research areas for anthropologists interested in directly contributing to the goal of self-determination. This initiative requires the creation of informal and formal links between Indian organizations, universities, and foundations, that, to date, are all too rare in Canada.[8]

Interdisciplinary Research

Bureaucrats often regard anthropology as an esoteric subject that is ill-suited to the specialized demands of policy science. (Chambers, 1987: 319; Weaver, 1985; Mulhauser, 1975). The discipline remains ineffective in producing policy relevant studies. The structure of anthropological training and the pragmatic limitations of policy work make most anthropological research irrelevant to policy analysis. Like Weaver, I believe that significant changes in the teaching of anthropology at the undergraduate and graduate levels, including the critical analysis of the policy making environment, are essential to the development of applied anthropology (*ibid)* However, even with the preparation of students for policy related occupations, practicing anthropologists will run the risk of becoming, as Salisbury states, 'functionaries' when required to accommodate themselves to the rigid requirements of government bureaucracy (1975: 315).

The likelihood that anthropologists can contribute to the acceptance of Native policy, or to the revision of government policy is increased through our alignment with mainstream disciplines, which

have a longer tradition as policy sciences (O'Neil and Waldram, 1989). Government and Native expectations concerning program planning, development and evaluation under a range of policy initiatives invariably require inter-disciplinary approaches at the community level. Interdisciplinary research is required because of the highly compartmentalized nature of government legislation and the rapid advance in knowledge within disciplines, which make it impossible for any anthropologist to keep abreast of the 'state of the art' in other fields.

It has been my experience that bureaucrats now accept that qualitative research techniques can be used to strengthen quantitative approaches in policy analysis (McCaskill *et al*, 1989, Warry 1986). This recognition opens the door to anthropological contributions to Native policy directives. But applied anthropologists must recognize that mainstream disciplines, such as law, economics and medicine, also bring a powerful voice to the policy environment that is directly related to the degree of professionalism and institutionalization of these disciplines. Bureaucrats consciously seek multi-sectoral consultation to ensure the political viability of new policy initiatives, an approach that naturally produces an acceptance of inter-disciplinary research. This bureaucratic acumen is unmatched in academic circles where the 'auteur' school of research continues to predominate in both faculty research and graduate training (Sansom, 1985). The ideology of the 'independent' control over research findings and analysis is deeply embedded in the discipline. This ideology is no more evident than in our graduate training, where on-going collaboration in analysis is actively discouraged, and where Ph.D. requirements render dissertations unintelligible to local communities.

The dangers in interdisciplinary research are that the anthropologist's role will be reduced to that of 'colour commentator' or that our qualitative methods will be consumed by quantitative approaches. While not devaluing the role of cultural interpreter, it is important that the anthropologist's role is not confined to providing 'context' for studies devoid of any cultural sensibility. It is imperative that we use the opportunity of interdisciplinary work to fully explain the value of qualitative methods, to encourage participatory research and to enhance Native involvement in all phases of the research process.

Collaborative Research: the participatory model

Quite obviously, multi-faceted approaches are required in applied research if we are to assist Native people in solving the systemic problems existing in their communities. Native leaders increasingly view 'pure' research as sterile. Native communities seek applied research, which focuses on needs assessments and program development or which directly informs policy-making within the framework of self-government.

As Sarsfield has noted, community-based pressure to produce "applied research" is increasing, but the responsiveness of researchers and funding agencies to locally defined priorities still lags far behind (1988: 123). Most research is still initiated outside of the Native community, and the sole responsibility for interpreting data remains with academics or consultants.

Native people's involvement in problem definition is critical to collaboration and is essential if solutions to the many problems facing Canadian Natives are to be found (Postle *et al*, 1987: 220). Ultimately, the successful elaboration of long term research strategies will require Native policy researchers to acquire a number of on-going research skills, including expertise in the field of management information systems, that will allow communities to see program evaluation as a tool for development, rather than as a threat to program survival (Castellano, 1986 125-126). As Castellano notes, research is of little value unless Native people maximize their involvement in all phases of social reform: from research to the drafting of legislation. Native communities must initiate research that is guided by a realistic awareness of government policy and planning procedures (*ibid.*)

The isolated nature of Native communities makes collaborative research difficult and expensive.[6] Indeed, given the continued erosion of funding to Native programs and to social science under the present Conservative government, the call for increased Native participation in research design and analysis would seem impractical. Government budget cuts have seriously affected staffing of Native political organizations, thereby undermining the ability of these organizations to enter into collaboration with non-Native researchers (*Toronto Star*, 1990:A9). Recent changes in the Social Science and Humanities Research Council Strategic Grants Program, however, appear to foster and encourage the development of collaborative, community based research. Native research is also singled out as a

special initiative under current SSHRC discussions (SSHRC 1990). Continued advocacy for enlightened funding strategies to enhance collaborative and inter-disciplinary work involving faculty and graduate students is, therefore, essential.

By taking account of Native policy, anthropologists can begin to design research projects that are fully compatible with Native aspirations concerning self-government. The costs of collaborative research can also be reduced through liaising with political organizations, often located in major cities. What remains clear is that collaborative projects must involve Native representatives in the initial design of research objectives and in all aspects of data collection and interpretation. We must train Native researchers to work in their own, or other communities, and, ultimately, the knowledge we package must be prepared for, evaluated and utilized by Native people.

The research model that has gained widespread acceptance in Native communities is commonly referred to as community based, participatory research (Hall, 1979; Castellano, 1982, 1986; Jackson *et al*, 1982; Price, 1987). As summarized by Hall, participatory research is an integrated activity that combines social investigation, educational work and action (1979 : 406-407). Problem definition originates in the community itself and the community is in control of the entire research process. Hall (1979) argues that participatory research challenges outside researchers to become committed participants and learners in the research process and leads to militancy, rather than detachment from local aims and aspirations evolving out of the research process.

It is the 'militancy' of participatory research that many academics see as misguided or as somehow threatening to the discipline. Brown and Tandon have differentiated the participatory and action research models based on historical factors and ideological orientation (1983). They note that these two methodologies share many common values, including the collaborative analysis of data and community-based problem definition. But they distinguish a tendency for action researchers to seek incremental solutions and to conduct research within, or on behalf of organizational (state or industry) authorities and to emphasize joint use of research results by seeking consensus between clients and organizational authorities. Participatory researchers, they argue, are more likely to advocate radical or structural change, and to dissociate or oppose themselves to 'system' representatives during the analysis of data and the development of recommendations (1983:285-287).

These distinctions are of academic interest but fail to take account of the complex policy-making environment associated with applied research in the Native Canadian context. If action and participatory research are viewed at opposite ends of a methodological and ideological continuum, then the style of research I advocate is fully participatory in method, if not in ideological orientation. Despite increased indications of militancy in Native communities, Native leaders continue to favour a consensual, if structural, approach to change. The suggestion that anthropologists engage in research directed toward the formation of 'incipient models' of self-governing institutions continues a consensualist approach which is intrinsic to the Canadian political environment. In Canada, participatory research is to be distinguished by adherence to Native policy and a commitment to Native control over the research process.

Participatory researchers become trainers and facilitators, rather than isolated owners of what is, from a community perspective, esoteric knowledge. Our discipline has to make research skills accessible to Native people and to dismantle the highly centralized and institutionalized bases of our discipline. The development of northern institutes, summer institutes, distance education models and aboriginal research institutes, such as those now being developed in southern Canada, are examples of important initiatives that should be embraced by Canadian anthropology departments (Walpole, 1986; Union of Ontario Indians, 1988).

Applied Research in Native Communities

I conclude with two brief examples of policy-driven research to suggest how anthropology can contribute to the development of incipient models for Native self-government. These examples illustrate the need for collaborative and inter-disciplinary research that is focused on the attainment of self-sustaining institutions. The first example concerns the need for policy development research in the area of Native justice; the second, policy analysis and evaluation, in support of Native controlled health programs.

The Canadian state defines deviant behaviour and controls conflict resolution within Native communities. This external control over legal process

creates cultural dissonance and dislocation among members of the Native community. Control over dispute processing is integral to individual and community well-being. The control over dispute processing by outside authorities disempowers Native communities by usurping the ability of Native people to define and debate the norms of their communities. The continuing effects of this legalistic neocolonialism is evident in the overrepresentation of Native people in all phases of the criminal justice system, from arrest to incarceration (Asbury, 1986; Hylton, 1983; Jackson, 1988). Many reserves suffer from extremely high crime rates and incidences of domestic and community violence.

Problems associated with Native conflict with the law require the development of Native controlled courts or 'alternative justice systems' to replace or supplement existing criminal justice institutions, which Native people view as foreign and inappropriate. The development of tribal courts is supported in a report by the Canadian Bar Association (Jackson, 1988). A recent judicial inquiry in Nova Scotia also recommends the creation of community based courts and alternative justice programs (Clarke, 1989: 59-62; Nova Scotia, 1989:50-53,58). One lawyer has noted that the development of a separate justice system for Native people is constitutionally feasible and well within the legal parameters set down in the Indian Act (Morse, 1980).

No concrete models for Native courts exist, nor is there any systematic analysis of the pragmatic jurisdictional problems associated with the development of Native justice systems. As noted by Havemann *et al* (1985: 88), social scientists have not addressed the social and political realities of creating such courts. Native leaders desire applied research projects that could lead to the development of model courts or pilot projects - the logical "next step" needed to propel the self-determination process forward (Havemann *et al*, 1985; Montagnes, 1986; Saddle Lake, 1985). Federal and provincial governments, however, have consistently resisted the development of tribal courts or integrated justice systems, and have specifically rejected the notion of Native control over criminal justice programs.[10]

Anthropologists have a special role to play in ensuring such research takes place in line with Native policy initiatives in the field of justice. Native people seek the development of justice programs that are based on recognition of customary legal process and substantive law (Indian common law); that is on the integration of culturally appropriate legal process into all aspects of community life. The development of such incipient models for self-governing institutions, however, can take place only through comprehensive, applied research that is directed at policy and program development. Indeed, years of community based experimentation, in the form of pilot projects and evaluation will be required to advance this key self-determination initiative (Krasnick and Stevenson, 1990).

The notion of developing working models for alternative justice programs is a classic example of the structuralist-incrementalist conundrum. Anthropological research, focused to provide information of use to Native policy analysts concerning alternative justice programs, could directly contribute the creation of incipient models for community based legal institutions. Ethnohistorical research, as well as participant observation research concerning the generation and resolution of conflict at the community level, would be of enormous value to Native policy initiatives. But the long term development and evaluation of working models or pilot projects in the field of Native justice can take place only through interdisciplinary approaches involving lawyers, criminologists and social workers and with the full collaboration of Native elders, constables and justices of the peace.

The second example of collaborative applied research concerns an established Federal government initiative, the Indian Health Transfer Policy, which provides First Nations with funding to conduct health care needs assessments, and to develop community health plans and health care authorities (Union Of Ontario Indians, 1989). The attainment of minimal standards of health care is central to the objective of self-determination (cf. Warry, 1990). The transfer policy raises complex questions relating to self-government, treaty renovation, and financial resourcing and has been the subject of much controversy. Specifically, the transfer policy has been criticized as window dressing for the Federal government's 'hidden agenda' to reduce spending in the area of health care services to First Nations (see Assembly of First Nations, 1988; Canada 1989; Speck, 1989). Nonetheless, First Nations are actively involved in this initiative, and it seems certain that divergent models for health care authorities will be created across the country.

This initiative could potentially lay the foundation for First Nations controlled health care systems that would integrate traditional and western health care and health promotion strategies at the local

level. The needs assessment process itself affords Native people an excellent opportunity to become involved in community based research. The creation of health management information systems affords Native people the opportunity to monitor the health status of their communities and, from an outsider's perspective, provides an unprecedented opportunity to engage in longitudinal research.

Given the Federal government's expectations concerning the transfer process, and the varied health needs of First Nations, research focused on the transfer initiative is ideally suited to multi-disciplinary approaches. I am currently involved as one of a team of experts in environmental health, family medicine, epidemiology and biostatistics[11] in an 18 month long health transfer needs assessment with Mamaweswen, The North Shore Tribal Council and the Whitefish Lake First Nation. The Tribal Council, which represents seven member bands along the north shore of Georgian Bay, initially sought assistance through the Regional Services Program (RSP) of the Faculty of Health Sciences, McMaster University. The RSP draws on a wide range of faculty and residents to assist communities with health design, measurement and evaluation.

Mamaweswen Tribal Council directs the project through its Health Board, Health Director and Health Transfer Research Director. The role of the RSP team is to provide expertise to the Director and the Health Board, to facilitate the research and program planning process, and to assist in data analysis. While the study team has access to the data gathered during this project, and permission to publish research findings, these privileges are subject to an agreement with the Mamaweswen Council. Publications must be vetted and approved by the Tribal Council, or a designated representative, and the Tribal Council controls any profits from publication.

The involvement of an anthropologist in this type of research, of course, is by no means essential. However, my own interests in Native mental health, traditional medicine, and qualitative research augment the quantitative skills and medical expertise of health scientists who also have strong interests in community based research and planning. I have encouraged the use of qualitative research methods which are regarded as appropriate by the community. These include, but are not limited to, survey techniques utilizing open ended questions, focus groups, and key consultant interviews. Equally evident is the expertise that other professionals bring to the project including an understanding of clinical epidemiology and bio-statistics, provincial and federal health care policy and jurisdictions, treatment and health promotion practices, and an entire range of issues associated with the complex field of community health, which make for a truly holistic and extensive research and program design.

Although the project has only just begun, the research design corresponds closely to the model of research I am advocating. First and foremost, the project is community based and controlled. The intent is to facilitate indigenous research, to demystify methodology and to leave behind research and planning skills so that communities can generate on-going and self-sustaining research projects at the local level. Native researchers were trained to conduct a community survey. Community forums and workshops are to be used to inform the community of the research process. Local health transfer committees are being established to explain the research findings to community members, and to engage frontline workers and other community representatives in interpreting research findings for the purpose of community based planning.

Conclusion

As Holmberg long ago noted, even the purest of anthropological investigations is a form of intervention (1958, 1955). The anthropologist, through naturalistic inquiry, exchanges information, identifies problems, raises expectations, focuses indigenous knowledge and generates discussion in the community in which s/he works. As all anthropology is, in this sense, applied anthropology, we need to concentrate our debate on how to best include research participants in this dialogue of intervention. The participatory model, I believe, will force us to explicitly recognize the interchange of knowledge between the researcher and the researched. This approach will lead us not to the ineffective musings of post-modernist writers whose attention to discourse leads to apolitical ethnography, but to an active, politicized ethnography involving community members as equal participants in the research process. Participatory research promises a discursive synthesis of western and indigenous science focussed on praxis and the search for solutions to the everyday problems of communities.

The history of our discipline is inextricably linked to the study of Native people. Anthropology's methods are compatible with Native expectations, and its theoretical assumptions are in tune

with Native desire for (w)holistic integrated services and institutions at the local level. Current political realities in Canada necessitate the development of collaborative research designs in which anthropologists play neither a central nor singular role in research. The continued use of traditional anthropological analysis by isolated fieldworkers fails to impact on Native people's quest for self-determination and will relegate our discipline to a peripheral and, eventually, meaningless, position with regard to Native studies.

Native research takes place in an increasingly politicized and chaotic policy making environment. If anthropologists are to contribute to Native goals then we must understand not only government bureaucracy, but also the way Native policy is shaped beyond the level of the local community. It is incumbent upon us to develop research projects that are guided by Native front-line workers. This is best accomplished through closer consultation and collaboration with Native political organizations and tribal councils. Our ability to shape policy is also enhanced through alliances with other disciplines. In fact, given the complex issues confronting Native people and the equally complex bureaucratic links between government and Native communities, it can be argued that interdisciplinary research is intrinsic to Native policy research.

Our responsibility is to make explicit a participatory methodology whereby our own and the Native voice are differentiated and strengthened. Critics of this approach will raise stale arguments evoking the risks of collaboration with Native people: dangers associated with a loss of objectivity, heightened relativism, censorship, or the politicization of the discipline. These critiques mask concern over the inevitable loss of power which is naturally associated with any process of self-determination. Collaboration *does* entail relinquishing power over the research process. It may, in fact, occasionally entail a loss of power to determine the parameters of our research. Many Native people, for example, question the right of outsiders to fully comprehend child abuse or wife assault and suggest that research and discussion of these issues should remain within their community or should be investigated only by Native researchers. These and other ethical dilemmas challenge us to enter an open and honest dialogue with Native people concerning the nature and use of our science.

What collaboration does not entail is the abandonment of explanatory power in any way, shape or form. There is nothing in participatory research which threatens the integrity of a science of culture. The practical examples I have cited offer immense opportunities for graduate students and researchers to pursue individual interests, while contributing to applied research that is guided by Native people's quest for self-government. Theory formulation is informed by the inclusion of indigenous interpretations. Our explanations are strengthened by the discourse that arises between Native and non-Native analysts.

Collaboration simply increases our perspective and forces us to revise our science. Michael Thrasher, a Native traditional leader, encourages us to constantly re-vision our future. Collaboration is, I believe, a central component to this process. I take it as axiomatic that we use others to see ourselves. Interaction with other disciplines assures (w)holistic interpretation and eliminates misguided specialization. Collaboration ensures self-reflection and invites critical re-assessment of our methods. Participatory research is nothing more, and nothing less, than the methodological equivalent of cross-cultural awareness. For that reason, if no other, it should be regarded as a mandatory component of our science.

Notes

1. I presented an abbreviated version of this paper at a session on 'Social Policy in Canada' at the Society for Applied Anthropology Conference in York, England. I thank the participants in that session for their many comments on the paper. My paper has also benefited from discussions with Patti DeFreitas, Patricia Spittal and Penny Young, graduate students at McMaster University, who also identified several sources for me during their research into participatory and applied methods. I would also like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for **CULTURE**, whose comments were very helpful in clarifying and revising the paper.

2. Although I focus on collaborative research in Native contexts, this approach is applicable to a wide variety of settings, in particular, to community based, urban research.

3. Action and participatory research are *both* collaborative processes. The term 'collaborative action research', which occasionally (as in Australia) substitutes for 'participatory research' fails to identify important, if subtle, ideological and methodological differences between the two approaches which I discuss in the text (PRC 1989; Brown and Tandon 1983).

4. From a Native perspective, the failure of these negotiations resulted from government intransigence created, indirectly or directly, by an influential "foundation policy" as represented by the Nielsen report - a policy which was, at its best, antithetical to the position of Native political organizations, and at its worst, a hidden agenda for assimilation (see Weaver 1986a, 1986b; Erasmus 1986).

5. Native critics, such as Mohawk (1985), take this critique much further in asserting that collective bias and racism against Native people exists within anthropology.

6. M. Strathern (1987) discusses the question of whether or not exploitation occurs when knowledge is appropriated. I do not feel this problem can be rationalized through appeals to the notion of 'consent' or social exchange (*ibid.*: 21). Whether exploitation occurs from a Native perspective is partially a function of level of awareness about the potential use, and misuse, of indigenous knowledge. Outside researchers, however, are aware of how they use indigenous knowledge, and it is incumbent upon them to raise awareness concerning the potential use of information while conducting research. As a result, there is a strong element of community development in participatory research.

7. Native people's views of the research process are by no means uniform. Some individuals suggest that the involvement of outsiders is inevitable because in asking 'direct' questions, research is an intrinsically 'foreign' communication process and incompatible with Native forms of interaction. Others argue that Native involvement in research be maximized in order to end community reliance on non-Native experts.

8. For one example of a collaborative approach to designing a Foundation's research agenda, see Clutterbuck *et al* (1990).

9. Applied research projects in the Federal and Provincial government commonly include costs for travel and accommodation during the data analysis/report writing phase for research committees comprised of representatives from widely divergent communities - a practice that would be considered extravagant by academic standards.

10. Recent Ontario Guidelines for self-government negotiations, for example, suggest that Native control over civil dispute processing is negotiable, but exclude the development of Native criminal courts.

11. Marlene Nose, Health Director, and Bill Greer, Research Director, employees of the North Shore Tribal Council, are responsible for the Health Transfer Project. The consulting team consists of Drs. Doug Sider and Rosana Pellizzari, of McMaster University Medical Centre (MUMC) and myself. The MUMC Regional Services Project is designed so as to be able to draw on the expertise of a wider range of experts at different times.

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Le Cabinet des Estampes: lettre à un ami mohawk

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The Mohawk friend exists. I have never met him: we exchange letters, and occasionally we telephone one another — that is all. In my text, I attempt to perceive several levels of analysis. I question the symbolic and historical nature of the rapport to the Other. I attempt to identify the place of the anthropologist's discourse. I follow the complex series of events which henceforth will never cease to unfold. I try to understand the nature of the troubled relations between anglophones and francophones, and show how these affect native peoples.
Time passes; where will we go? Like the hero in Carpentier's novel, *Los Passos perdidos*, we cannot cope with the excesses of our society; and we flee them, but are mocked only to discover that they are everywhere. The world which we imagined in ideal terms and through the magic of ideology exists nowhere. Standing on the watershed, we hesitate, uncertain of where we should go from here. Time races by. The door which opens unto the other universe about which we have dreamt is closing evermore.

L'ami mohawk existe. Je ne l'ai jamais rencontré. Nous nous écrivons et, parfois, parlons au téléphone. C'est tout. Dans mon texte, je cherche à appréhender plusieurs niveaux d'analyse. Interroger la nature symbolique et historique du rapport à l'Autre. Montrer le lieu du discours de l'anthropologue. Suivre le fil complexe d'événements qui n'en finiront plus désormais de surgir. Saisir la nature des relations troubles que nous entretenons, francophones et anglophones. Montrer comment elle exerce un effet dévastateur sur les autochtones.
Le temps passe. Où irons-nous? Tel le héros du roman de Carpentier,[1] Le partage des eaux, *nous supportons mal la démesure de notre société, et nous fuyons pour découvrir, ô dérision, qu'elle s'est insinuée partout. Le monde que nous imaginions dans l'idéal et par la magie de l'idéologie n'existe nulle part. Debout sur la ligne de partage des eaux, nous hésitons, ignorant où diriger nos pas. Le temps presse. La porte qui s'ouvre sur l'autre univers que nous avions rêvé se fait de plus en plus étroite.*

> Nous sommes nés libres. Nous ne dépendons d'Onnontio non plus que de Corlar[2]. Il nous est permis d'aller où nous voulons, d'y conduire qui bon nous semble, d'acheter et vendre ce qui nous plaît. [...] Écoute, Onnontio! Prends garde à l'avenir qu'un aussi grand nombre de guerriers que celui qui paraît ici se trouvant dans un si petit fort n'étouffe cet arbre[3]...
>
> (Garangula, chef iroquois,1684)

À la suite de sa visite dans un village iroquois, Chateaubriand écrit cette phrase mélodieuse: «Le sachem des Onondagas me reçut bien et me fit asseoir sur une natte. Il parlait anglais et entendait le français; mon guide savait l'iroquois: la conversation fut facile»[4]. Lisant ces propos, et ceux rapportés par La Hontan (*supra*), à plusieurs siècles de distance, je me demande à quelle loi de régression et à quel principe de glissement de discours nous avons obéis pour avoir, avec le temps, dérivé hors du champ de l'entendement.

Mais, tout de suite, j'ai un doute, vous n'aimerez peut-être pas ma lettre. En effet, bien que mon analyse de la situation rejoigne la vôtre pour l'essentiel, je crains d'écrire ici un certain nombre de choses qui pourraient vous déplaire. Toutefois, cela ne serait pas dans mon caractère de vous les cacher. Je crois que nous nous entendons sur ce sujet. Voyez-vous, j'ai suivi tous les jours le déroulement des événements à

Kanesatake et à Kahnawake, j'achetais tous les journaux, j'essayais tant bien que mal de tout faire: regarder les chaînes de télévision, écouter les stations de radio et lire. Encore abasourdie de découvrir que c'était ici, au Québec, que cette bombe à retardement nous tombait sur la tête, je voulais tout savoir. «Voilà, ça y est, me disais-je, nous sommes sur la sellette comme les autres»[5].

En 1973, j'avais suivi d'abord de loin le siège de Wounded Knee, à la réserve de Pine Ridge, au Dakota du Sud, avant d'aller là-bas. En compagnie de militants de l'*American Indian Movement*, j'ai voyagé dans un camion «emprunté» à une compagnie de transports, parcourant l'Oklahoma, le Dakota du Sud jusqu'au Montana, assistant aux pow wow estivaux chez les Sioux et les Crow. Cet été-là, et ce fut un honneur étant donné les événements qui venaient de se produire, j'assistai au rituel de la danse du Soleil, ou plutôt la «danse qui regarde le Soleil». Celle-ci se tint à la réserve de Rosebud, à *Crow Dog's Paradise*, du nom de son propriétaire, Henry Crow Dog, un *pejuta wicasa* (medicine man) du groupe brûlé appartenant aux Teton-Sioux. Au matin du premier jour, après le cérémonial de la pipe sacrée et des prières incantatoires, Henry dit aux participants de scruter le ciel, car un aigle y apparaîtrait. En effet, quelques instants plus tard, un point noir apparut au loin dans le firmament. Il grossit rapidement pour devenir un grand oiseau majestueux qui survola de larges coups d'ailes le campement. Les gens murmuraient que Henry était un homme de pouvoir. L'aigle du mythe, l'oiseau-tonnerre, donnait au cérémonial une intensité mystique qui ne me quitta guère les jours suivants. L'aigle, c'est celui qui vit dans les profondeurs des cieux à côté de *Wakan Tanka*, le «Grand Mystère»[6].

Des années plus tard, j'ai lu dans *Akwesasne Notes* un article annonçant la mort de Henry Crow Dog. Il y avait une photo de lui avec, à ses pieds, un aigle apprivoisé... Qu'importe, l'apparition de l'aigle dans le ciel restera toujours gravée dans ma mémoire comme un instant de pure joie.

Ô Pouvoir ailé!
Purificateur de la terre
des êtres
de tout ce qui est impur
[...]
Ô toi qui vis près du soleil levant!
Ô toi qui dispenses la connaissance!
Ô toi gardien de l'aube du jour[7]!

Leonard Crow Dog, un *pejuta wicasa* comme Henry, son père, et guide spirituel de A.I.M., allait payer très cher son rattachement à l'organisation: une nuit, des agents du F.B.I. vinrent l'arrêter en sa demeure; ils le tirèrent de son lit, le jetèrent dehors quasi nu, détruisirent ses biens et sa maison. Ses séjours en prison finirent par le briser. On dit qu'il n'est jamais redevenu depuis le même.

Inutile de vous préciser que j'avais épousé totalement la cause des Amérindiens, car grande a toujours été ma révolte devant l'injustice et l'iniquité. À cause de cela, je comprends mieux ceux qui, cet été, ont vécu derrière les barricades de Kanesatake, et fait corps et âme avec les militants. On ne peut être à la fois dedans et dehors. Tel est le dilemme qui se pose à beaucoup d'anthropologues. Les contradictions inhérentes à toute organisation qui s'inscrit *de facto* à la charnière du politique et du traditionnel valent nécessairement des déchirements intérieurs aux militants et à leurs sympathisants. Phénomène qu'on pourrait désigner de politique messianique. Je doute que ces deux concepts fassent toujours bon ménage, à preuve le fondamentalisme de Louis Hall et sa vision moderniste du chaos.

J'avais appris, entre autres, deux choses qui allaient produire une impression durable dans ma conscience: d'abord, les Indiens des États-Unis considéraient que ceux du Canada étaient «wild» —entendez par là qu'ils leur prêtaient la réputation de ne pas se laisser faire—, ensuite, que le rêve de Louis Riel de créer un État dans l'État était encore vivant, que son funeste destin avait laissé dans les esprits des traces indélébiles. «Parle-moi de Riel», me demandait-on. Las! à l'époque, que n'avais-je mieux appris mes leçons d'histoire. Je les connaissais bien dans les grandes lignes, mais ce sont des Indiens qui me racontèrent des faits que seule la tradition orale véhicule. On écoutait «The Ballad of Crowfoot» de Willie Dunn, un Micmac, très populaire en ce temps-là. On écoutait encore les chansons de Floyd Westerman. Vous connaissez: «Here comes the anthro for another holiday, here comes the anthro better hide your past away...» Mais, comme on dit, c'est une autre histoire que je vous raconterai un jour si vous avez encore la bienveillance de me lire. En attendant, je vous conseille un ouvrage qui vient de paraître sur la répression de l'*American Indian Movement*[8]. Les auteurs expliquent très clairement comment, après l'occupation de Wounded Knee, les militants furent persécutés par le F.B.I.; ils montrent, preuves à l'appui, comment des agents provocateurs, immiscés dans le mouvement, le rongèrent de l'intérieur. Tandis que les membres fondateurs se soupçonnaient les uns les autres, Douglass Durham, un Blanc, déguisé en Indien —il prétendait être tantôt Chippewa, tantôt Minneconjou Lakota—, avait

réussi à avoir l'oreille des leaders du mouvement. Devenu trésorier de l'organisation, il contrôlait de ce fait à peu près tout ce qui se passait: il détourna des fonds importants. En quelques mois, les soupçons et les rumeurs ruinèrent les fondements de l'organisation. Elle ne s'en est jamais totalement relevée. Une anecdote: à la même époque où ces événements se déroulaient, j'organisais à Paris, au Théâtre de Vincennes, un concert de musique pop pour venir en aide au mouvement. Je reçus un télégramme me remerciant des recettes que j'avais envoyées. Mais quand je me rendis sur place, personne n'en avait jamais entendu parler. Cela m'avait toujours fort intriguée. Bref, cette initiative me valut bien des ennuis. C'est comme ça.

Je raconte cela en passant, car il y a bien pire puisque plusieurs personnes perdirent la vie. Une Micmac de la Nouvelle—Écosse, Anna Mae Picsou-Aquash, victime de «bad-jacketing» sera trouvée assassinée dans un ravin de la réserve de Pine Ridge.[9] Je regarde une de ses photos. Elle est belle, Anna Mae; dans ses yeux, on lit la fatalité comme si elle sait qu'elle va mourir. Le «bad-jacketing» consiste à répandre la rumeur qu'un militant est en fait un agent provocateur. C'est l'équivalent de «mettre un chapeau sur la tête de quelqu'un», d'où l'expression «faire porter le chapeau» pour nuire à un individu. C'est, paraît-il, quelque chose de fort répandu dans les prisons et les mouvements politiques. Dans le second cas, le F.B.I. ou la G.R.C, par exemple, recrute un agent double, une taupe, qui s'insinue dans l'organisation et a tôt fait de semer le doute sur la loyauté de certains membres. Ils s'entre-déchirent très vite. Les organisations militantes y sont particulièrement sensibles, car le risque d'infiltration est relativement facile d'autant que l'inflation verbale joue un rôle non négligeable dans le recrutement. En effet, l'inflation verbale est une des formes privilégiées de la démagogie. Mieux on flatte les passions, plus vite on sera accepté.

Histoire ou passé?

Dans l'affaire d'Oka, victime de mon idéalisme, mais sans le savoir encore, j'attendais du gouvernement des actes qui fussent à la hauteur de la conception bien naïve que je m'en étais fait jusque-là. Pourquoi donc en avais-je ignoré le vide immanent? Sans doute que, Québécoise, j'avais transféré *ipso facto* sur lui des espoirs semblables aux miens. Désespoir.

On a vu et entendu, ces derniers temps, des observateurs de toutes tendances battre leur coulpe et souligner à qui mieux mieux les torts que nous, Québécois, avons commis envers les autochtones depuis la «conquête». Certes, tout discours impliquant nos relations avec les autochtones exige une analyse de fond, mais en définitive à quoi sert donc une vision manichéenne du monde que l'on divise en mal et en bien? Toute réduction ne vise-t-elle pas, en dernier lieu, à occulter les vrais problèmes? En quelque sorte, cela signifie qu'une fois sa mauvaise conscience assouvie, on retourne sans plus tarder à ses affaires[10]. En fin de compte, nous savons tous que, depuis quatre cents ans, les autochtones de ce pays ont été lésés dans leurs droits territoriaux. Alors que pouvons-nous faire à partir de cette constatation? Quelle action pouvons-nous entreprendre?

Que notre mémoire soit hantée à l'occasion de crises comme celle-ci serait-il le signe indélébile de notre impuissance? Le vrai problème ne résiderait-il pas plutôt au niveau des responsabilités étatiques, qui si elles étaient prises sérieusement, pourraient éviter les psychodrames? Car c'est une chose d'énoncer les torts qu'une société a commis dans son passé historique, c'en est une autre d'en être réduits à l'impuissance collective. Nous appartenons à un gouvernement démocratique qui est censé traiter toutes les femmes et tous les hommes de ce pays de manière égalitaire. S'il ne remplit pas sa mission parce que les contingences historiques l'étouffent, n'est-ce pas à nous de l'obliger par tous les moyens à nous en rendre compte?

Pourtant, ce qui fut un point fort de l'engagement anthropologique, l'ethnocide, dans les années 1970, a été inversé. La parole que nous n'entendions pas nous est transmise haut et fort par les autochtones qui sont parfaitement capables d'exposer leurs points de vue. Quand, il y a deux ans, George Erasmus, le chef des Premières Nations, prévint solennellement le gouvernement que, s'il continuait de pratiquer la politique de l'autruche, les autochtones se révolteraient partout au Canada, sa parole ne fut pas entendue. On se souvient maintenant de son avertissement comme d'une prophétie. Dans cette perspective, cessons d'être timorés et agissons de concert avec les intéressés.

D'une certaine manière, grâce à la psychose qui s'est emparée de nous cet été avec tout ce que cela comporte d'écarts de langage et de manifestations odieuses, on a refait l'histoire pour rejoindre le grand courant de la répression nord-américaine. Avions-nous donc jusqu'à présent vécu un mensonge? Avions-nous déguisé notre histoire?

L'historien Jacques Le Goff écrit des pages éloquentes au sujet de la mémoire collective, montrant comment elle a été un «enjeu important dans la lutte des forces sociales pour le pouvoir». Il écrit encore: «Se rendre maître de la mémoire et de l'oubli est une

des grandes préoccupations des classes sociales qui ont dominé et dominent nos sociétés. Les oublis, les silences de l'histoire sont révélateurs de ces mécanismes de manipulation de la mémoire collective»[11]. Justement quel est donc ce rapport qu'entretient notre société entre son histoire et son passé? N'y aurait-il pas lieu de distinguer entre ces deux concepts dans la mesure où, de toute évidence, si nous semblons connaître notre histoire, nous méconnaissons notre passé? J'entends par là celui de nos liens avec les Iroquois qui, dès le XVII[e] siècle, vivaient en voisinage avec les Français. Les Mohawk de la région de Montréal furent très souvent les alliés des Français. Or le message que nous retenons ces derniers temps est plutôt celui-ci: «Ennemis nous étions, ennemis nous demeurons».

Néanmoins, serait-il possible qu'en regard des événements qui ont secoué le Québec, l'exacerbation des sentiments et des gestes vienne de la mémoire collective que l'enseignement, l'éducation et les mythes coloniaux ont contribué à renforcer? Voyez, par exemple, les effigies de «warriors» brûlées à Châteauguay, et, son envers symbolique, celle du «crucifié» qui ressemblait si étrangement à un missionnaire, abandonnée contre un arbre, après le siège de Kanesatake. On pourrait gloser longtemps sur ces symboles de notre passé qui ont resurgi comme un diable de la boîte. Il me semble que l'esprit des Relations des Jésuites n'était pas très loin, chez les uns et chez les autres, et qu'il nous faisait partager un rite commun, (contrairement à ce qu'on pourrait penser, au XVII[e] siècle, il arrivait aussi aux Français de brûler des Iroquois. Ainsi, en 1692, après le supplice de prisonniers iroquois à Montréal, les combattants des deux bords firent une trêve à l'occasion de laquelle des captifs furent échangés [12]).

Un miroir nous renvoie simultanément les images de l'Autre figées dans le temps séculaire. Un iconographe archiviste semble s'agiter dans quelque sombre lieu des souvenirs et tirer les ficelles. Le Sud profond, l'Alabama, le Québec, comme on l'a prétendu? plutôt le Cabinet des Estampes!

Pourtant la plupart des Québécois n'ont jamais lu les *Relations*, et encore moins les passages décrivant les supplices des jésuites. Par contre, des illustrations sur les tortures, tous les Québécois en ont vu, ils connaissent tous l'histoire des martyrs jésuites canonisés par Rome. Les générations qui se sont succédé sur les bancs d'école où régnaient les bonnes sœurs, les frères et les curés ont écouté, même d'une oreille discrète et même le sourire aux lèvres, les extraordinaires et invraisemblables aventures des suppliciés en pays iroquois. Et elles sont extraordinaires, ces descriptions, par l'abondance des détails, mais aussi invraisemblables, par leur théâtralisme. Pourtant, elles sont vraies. L'expression de la vérité d'une époque. Ces événements ne disparaissent pas de la mémoire du jour au lendemain. J'ai toutes sortes de preuves démontrant qu'ils alimentent la réflexion générale sur les Iroquois. Je vous en parlerai une autre fois.

En attendant, je voudrais faire un parallèle. Ceux qui seraient enclins à penser que les supplices sont *amériquains* feraient mieux de se méfier. Lisez *Surveiller et Punir*[13]. Le premier chapitre s'ouvre par une description du châtiment de Damiens[14], exécuté sur la place de Grève, à Paris, en 1757. C'est magnifique dans toute son horreur. «Le degré zéro du supplice», «la plus exquise des agonies», celle qui donne «mille morts» et qui «retient la vie»[15]. Quelle différence entre le trépas de Damiens sur la place de Grève et l'«heureuse mort»[16] de Brébeuf à la mission de Saint-Joseph? Les détails sont les mêmes à peu de choses près. Il faut parcourir ces pages. Par contre, comme le montre Foucault, en France au XVII[e] et au XVIII[e] siècle, le cérémonial du supplice, bien qu'il semble surgir d'un autre âge, s'inscrit dans l'appareil juridique et participe de la politique de l'effroi[17]. Montrer au peuple le corps écartelé du coupable afin de prévenir le crime, faire de son exécution une fête exemplaire. Il n'en va pas de même dans les rituels de captivité américains où le prisonnier de guerre, figure universelle, est considéré mort à sa vie antérieure. Il s'engage au cœur du cérémonial, symbole volontaire de l'offrande cannibale[18]. Bien sûr, j'aurais bien des choses à ajouter à ce sujet, mais ce n'est pas exactement le lieu. Cependant, je suis en train de travailler sur le thème plus général des captivités nord-américaines. À suivre.

Or donc, les relations Français-Iroquois sont très particulières. L'histoire a appris aux Français que, pendant la colonisation, l'ennemi était l'Iroquois: silencieux, il se glisse la nuit pour venir capturer, scalper, brûler, dévorer. «Derrière chaque arbre se cache un Iroquois», tel est l'avertissement qui nous a rendus à jamais paranoïaques. Les Iroquois avaient détruit la Huronie. Ils allaient jusque chez les peuples algonquins, les Micmacs, les Malécites, les Abénaquis, les Montagnais, les Cris, etc., commettre les mêmes forfaits. Quelques exemples: on trouve dans le sud de la baie James la rivière Nottaway du nom que les Cris donnaient aux Iroquois qui venaient y faire des incursions. Le chevalier de Troyes parle dans son journal d'un parti d'Iroquois attaquant des chasseurs algonquins au lac Abitibi[19]. Près de deux cents ans plus tard, en 1830, Finlayson, de la Compagnie de la Baie

d'Hudson, arrive à Petite-Rivière-à-la-Baleine, sur la baie du même nom. Il écrit: « Nous trouvâmes plusieurs familles d'Indiens qui nous attendaient sur le rivage, les uns armés de fusils, de lances et de flèches, les autres de haches et de harpons. Ils justifièrent leur apparence hostile en disant qu'ils nous avaient pris pour une brigade d'Iroquois dont ils craignent la venue»[20]. Chez les Montagnais, il y a encore quelques années, envers un enfant qui refusait d'obéir, on usait de menace affirmant que des «Iroquois allaient venir le chercher». Il y a deux ans, je suis allée au Cap-Breton, le pays de ma mère dont le village est limitrophe à la réserve micmac de Chapel Island. Je me suis promenée dans la réserve avec un Micmac qui m'a expliqué que l'île, inhabitée, était un lieu de sépulture traditionnel devenu par la suite un endroit de pèlerinage consacré à sainte Anne, la patronne de nombreux autochtones allant des Micmacs aux Dene en passant par les Montagnais. Nous avons traversé la forêt qui recouvre encore l'île pour escalader une petite colline dont la vue domine l'immense lac Bras d'Or rattaché par un détroit à l'Atlantique. Il m'a raconté qu'autrefois les Iroquois y faisaient des raids pour ramener des captifs. Sur la colline, il y avait trois sépultures appartenant à des Mohawk qui ne firent jamais le voyage de retour. Mon guide m'a affirmé que des autochtones de Kahnawake y venaient parfois en pèlerinage.

Iroquois, déformation de Ini"akhoiw («vrais serpents») avec le suffixe français «ois»; leur nom: Oñgweohwe («les êtres originels») et Hodenausonee («nous sommes de la maison longue»). Les Delaware les appelaient Mingo, les Powhatan Massawomekes, les Algonquins Nadowa, les Ottawa Matchenautoway (littéralement «mauvais serpents»). Remarquez, les peuples algonquins appelaient aussi les Sioux Nadouessioux; grâce au langage des signes, ils les identifiaient universellement par un geste signifiant «coupeurs de gorge». Quant aux Iroquois, ils désignaient les peuples algonquins par le terme suivant: Sakongwajoniak qui veut dire quelque chose comme «ça ne va pas bien dans la tête»[21]. Comme quoi toute chose est relative. Dans la plupart des sociétés traditionnelles, l'Autre n'est pas tout à fait un être humain. Il est encore du côté des ténèbres et de la Barbarie. Une réaction ethnocentrique naturelle que partage l'humanité.

Je ne pense pas que cela nuise à l'argumentation d'affirmer que les Iroquois étaient des peuples guerriers, comme les Sioux, les Apaches, les Cheyennes, les Ojibwa, les Assiniboines, les Siksika et bien d'autres. Pourquoi travestir la réalité? La plupart des Indiens aimaient faire la guerre. Ils y excellaient. Il n'est pas faux d'ajouter que les Iroquois étaient alliés des Britanniques, et, en conséquence, ennemis des Français. Toutefois, il y a quelque part dans cette vérité historique toutes sortes d'éléments qui tendent à la contredire. D'aucuns prétendent que les missionnaires, auxquels on n'échappe pas quand on aborde ce sujet, réussirent à attirer des Mohawk et des Onondaga pour former Kahnawake au XVII[e] siècle. D'aucuns prétendent encore que les membres de la Ligue cherchèrent en vain à les ramener au bercail, et finirent par les déclarer traîtres, ou plutôt mécréants, en 1684. Ce n'est pas le lieu d'avancer ici sur le terrain de l'ethnohistoire et de l'archéologie, sachant pertinemment que les Mohawk ont toujours prétendu que la partie septentrionale de leur territoire s'arrêtait à l'île de Montréal, ce que Lafitau confirme dans son ouvrage *Mœurs* , voire qu'elle s'étendait bien au-delà en aval du Saint-Laurent.

Pourtant, les Iroquois furent souvent les alliés des Français. Pas seulement les «Iroquois des missions», mais les autres. En 1736, des Français et des Iroquois allèrent ensemble, jusqu'en Louisiane, porter la guerre chez les Chickasaw. En 1723, les Iroquois du Sault-Saint-Louis et du lac des Deux-Montagnes partirent en guerre en Nouvelle-Angleterre en compagnie d'Abénaquis[22]. À cette époque également, des captifs américains étaient ramenés en grand nombre au Canada. Certains vivront auprès des Français, d'autres auprès des Amérindiens. Les frères Tarbel, (leur sœur Sarah, rebaptisée Marguerite, sera, la malheureuse, confiée aux Sœurs de la Congrégation de Lachine) épouseront des jeunes filles mohawk de Kahnawake. Pierre dit Pier Karkohe, fils d'un des frères Tarbel, époux de la fille du chef du clan de la Tortue, fondera, entre autres, Akwesasne en 1755, (je simplifie cette histoire un peu compliquée[23]). Aujourd'hui, les Tarbel, les Rice, les Williams, les Jacobs, les Hill, les Hall, les Stacey de Kahnawake, sont tous, en partie, des descendants de captifs de Nouvelle-Angleterre, ramenés au Canada par les alliés autochtones des Français. Ceux qui portent des noms comme Delisle, témoignent également d'unions avec des Français. Est-ce que cela signifie quelque chose?

Tout d'abord, ne confondons pas culture et génétique. Tant de mythes circulent chez les Québécois sur la question de leur origine amérindienne qu'on finit par se demander si ce n'est pas un coup monté d'ordre idéologique. En effet, plus on prétendra que les Canadiens français ont du sang indigène, mieux on pourra nier l'existence et des autochtones et des véritables Métis. L'idée qu'on est tous mélangés, donc semblables, est sous-jacente à ce postulat. Négation de la différence censée aplanir

tous les problèmes. À ce sujet, il est une donnée indéniable: il y a eu effectivement des mariages entre Français et Amérindiens dès le XVII[e] siècle (je ne parle pas ici de la question contemporaine qui est tout autre). À condition que l'union ait été féconde, un individu qui remonte sa généalogie jusqu'au XVII[e] siècle va trouver 1024 ancêtres à la dixième génération (296 ancêtres à la huitième génération) de sorte que la probabilité qu'un mariage entre un Français et une Amérindienne (ou l'inverse) apparaisse dans plusieurs généalogies est relativement élevé. Sur ces 1024 ancêtres, il se trouve donc un(e) Amérindien(ne). Cela signifie, d'une part, que les Canadiens français sont en quelque sorte parents, et, d'autre part, qu'ils ont 1‰ de sang indigène[24]. C'est vraiment très peu. Bien entendu, à part ça, il y a effectivement des régions (comme le lac Saint-Jean, le nord de Montréal) où les unions ont été plus fréquentes. Quoi qu'il en soit, ce qui détermine d'abord l'identité d'un individu passe par la culture.

L'ombre du réel

Il est un phénomène existentiel que j'ai pu observer lors de mes pérégrinations chez les Amérindiens du Canada et des États-Unis; il est lié à un univers fondamentalement différent de celui des Blancs. On croirait un monde parallèle. L'Amérique autochtone existe toujours par une volonté jamais verbalisée telle quelle de garder un espace quasi sacralisé tant il étonne et bouleverse quand on le découvre. Cet espace que Crazy Horse appelait «l'ombre du réel».

Vivez plusieurs semaines chez les Indiens, et vous oublierez que le reste de l'Amérique existe. Ce phénomène, je l'ai ressenti après un séjour dans les Plaines et le Sud-Ouest. Des villes comme Chicago ou New York, aussi imposantes fussent-elle, avaient cessé d'être dans mon imaginaire. Pour expliquer ce sentiment, je voudrais faire une comparaison avec le Grand Nord. Une personne ayant vécu quelque temps dans la toundra et revenant ensuite dans les zones méridionales connaît l'étonnement de redécouvrir la forêt car, entre-temps, elle a établi un lien rigoureusement différent avec le paysage. Même si elle sait que les arbres existent, ils ne font plus partie du décor quotidien. On dit que ces passages d'un lieu à l'autre sont toujours difficiles. J'ai fait souvent cette expérience; je l'ai revécue de manière plus abstraire lors d'une recherche en ethnohistoire à propos des territoires et des populations autochtones au XIX[e] siècle. J'avais parfois l'illusion d'être un scribe du moyen âge en train de travailler sur un palimpseste, réinscrivant ce qui avait été effacé par des siècles de colonisation.

Un paysage, passe encore, mais le passage régulier d'un territoire culturel à un autre (lisez de la culture amérindienne à la culture nord-américaine), pose une difficulté encore bien plus grande. Ces lieux qui existent côte à côte, ils sont invisibles pour les yeux. Il faut y être allé pour prendre la mesure de leur inadéquation. Une réserve n'est pas une réserve, c'est un pays, et dans ce pays le voyageur est pèlerin. Y aurait-il alors dans ces tentatives une volonté inquiétante de bloquer le temps et l'espace dans un immobilisme contemplatif tourné à l'intérieur de soi-même? À ce questionnement, on peut se demander encore: qu'est-ce que le temps? qu'est-ce que l'espace? Dans *La Pensée sauvage* , Lévi-Strauss écrit quelque chose comme «le temps est une denrée sans limite, et l'espace une société de lieux-dits». Si cela est vrai, et je le crois, peut-on penser que les traditionalistes amérindiens qui jalousent leur culture vivent dans le passé? Ne serait-ce pas plutôt que la mémoire du temps, fondamentalement autre, est conditionnée par un réseau différent de symboles sociaux qui s'inscrivent dans l'espace culturel et dont la complexité nous échappe?

J'ai connu un Pomo de Californie, qui m'a expliqué la conception que beaucoup d'autochtones, lui compris, avaient du monde extérieur. Il me disait que, marchant dans les rues de San Francisco, les Blancs étaient en quelque sorte «invisibles» à ses yeux. Il ne les voyait pas. Certes, il ne niait pas leur existence, la question n'est pas là, mais il ne les regardait jamais. Il m'a raconté que, écolier, le maître l'avait obligé un jour à le fixer dans les yeux, et que, ce faisant, il avait dû franchir un interdit puisque chez les Pomo cela est contraire aux bonnes manières. Il se souvenait encore du regard de l'instituteur dont le blanc des yeux était sillonné par de minuscules veinules ramifiées qui ressemblaient à un réseau hydrographique. Il en avait été terrifié. Il datait de cet instant sa conscience de la différence. Il allait dans son univers, sachant que, s'il s'engageait trop avant dans l'autre, il serait perdu pour toujours.

Les Iroquois ont bien exprimé ce principe dans le «Traité des deux voies parallèles» (*Two Row Wampum Treaty*) signé en 1645 avec les Hollandais. La ceinture de wampum illustre comment les Hollandais naviguent sur une voie et les Iroquois sur une autre. Chacun va son chemin —les premiers dans leur navire, les seconds dans leur canot—, et l'un ne peut ordonner à l'autre lequel emprunter. La symbolique explique encore qu'il faut faire un choix entre les deux voies. L'une ou l'autre, jamais les deux en même temps. Tel est le sens de ce traité que les Iroquois signèrent avec les Hollandais et qu'ils crurent signer du coup avec tous les Européens, ce qui était quand même une erreur, vous en conviendrez.

Lisant un jour les paroles de Seattle, prononcées en 1854 lors de la signature du traité de Medicine Creek, je me suis rappelé celles de mon ami pomo. Permettez que j'en cite un extrait[25]:

> [...] Nos morts n'oublient jamais la terre merveilleuse qui leur donna la vie...Chaque partie de notre territoire est sacré...chaque colline, chaque vallée, chaque plaine... est marquée par un événement... La poussière sous vos pieds ...est riche du sang de nos ancêtres... Même nos petits-enfants... aiment les sombres solitudes... et saluent le retour des esprits. Quand le dernier homme rouge aura disparu, et que la mémoire de mon peuple ne sera plus qu'un mythe parmi les hommes blancs, ces rivages seront occupés par les morts invisibles de la tribu; et quand bien même les enfants de vos enfants, dans les champs, au magasin, sur la route ou dans la quiétude des sentiers de la forêt, se croiront seuls, ils ne le seront jamais. La nuit, lorsque les rues de vos villages et de vos villes seront silencieuses et que vous les croirez désertes, elles seront envahies par les ombres de ceux qui autrefois aimaient et vivaient dans ce beau pays. L'homme blanc ne sera jamais seul. Qu'il soit juste et traite mon peuple avec équité car les morts ne sont pas sans pouvoir. Mort, ai-je dit? Il n'y a pas de mort, il y a seulement un changement d'univers.

Politique messianique

Contrairement à ce qu'on pourrait affirmer, les Québécois sont loin d'être insensibles à la cause autochtone. Je pense ici à George Erasmus qui a fait des déclarations incisives, très anti-québécoises, qui m'ont beaucoup déçue, car jusque-là, j'avais de l'admiration pour lui. Il a affirmé des choses insensées, du genre que, si Oka s'était produit ailleurs au pays, jamais les Canadiens anglais ne se seraient comportés comme nous, et ainsi de suite. C'est oublier singulièrement les leçons de l'histoire de penser que Messieurs les Anglais sont civilisés à ce point! Je pense à la pendaison de Louis Riel, à la répression des Métis dans l'Ouest, et je m'étonne. On pourrait reprocher encore à George Erasmus de faire un amalgame entre le pouvoir et les citoyens. Dans mes classes, mis à part quelques hurluberlus qui m'interpellent par des questions saugrenues et, par la même occasion, révèlent à point qu'un cours sur les cultures amérindiennes n'est jamais à l'abri des préjugés et de la volonté d'ignorance, les étudiants sont entièrement en faveur de la cause autochtone. Ils le sont parfois jusqu'à la déraison: l'automne dernier, après Oka, certains se disaient même prêts, s'il le fallait, à quitter l'Amérique. Grand Dieu! les pauvres hères! et où iraient-ils donc? On aurait cru réentendre ce chant pathétique, issu de notre patrimoine, dont il faut croire que les mots sont restés gravés dans l'inconscient: «Un Canadien errant, banni de son foyer, parcourait en pleurant un pays ennemi...».

Quoi qu'il en soit, vous savez, cette histoire de valise que les Euro-machins sont censés faire pour retourner d'où ils viennent, c'est-à-dire en Europe, n'est pas nouvelle. Si le contenant a changé, en revanche l'idée est restée la même. Elle circule, cette idée, depuis le début de la colonisation. L'arrivée des Européens, avec leurs institutions politiques et religieuses qui leur donnaient le droit de s'emparer des espaces terrestres et de détruire les cultures aborigènes, renvoie d'un point de vue religieux aux grands fléaux archaïques que la cosmogonie amérindienne dépeint. Pour les Amérindiens, il n'y a pas de dichotomie fondamentale entre la pensée religieuse et l'espace terrestre: l'un et l'autre sont indissociables. «Ce désir d'appréhension de la totalité résulte, écrit Lévi-Strauss, d'un même désir d'appréhension globale de ces deux aspects [visible et invisible], que le philosophe [Bergson] désigne du nom de continu et de discontinu; d'un même refus de choisir entre les deux, d'un même effort pour en faire deux perspectives complémentaires débouchant sur la même vérité.[26]» Cela signifie encore qu'il n'y a pas de primauté du visible sur l'invisible et explique sans aucun doute le regard différent que beaucoup d'indigènes continuent de porter sur l'univers environnant.

C'est dans ces conditions que surgira l'utopie amérindienne, l'idée que, avec le retour des morts, le monde des Anciens renaîtra de ses cendres et les Européens regagneront leur terre natale ou périront dans quelque catastrophe terrestre ou cosmique. Un exemple: dans les années 1870, Doctor George, un chamane, enseigne aux Klamath et aux Modoc, adeptes de la danse des Esprits, que «les Blancs vont disparaître, et que seuls les Indiens resteront sur terre». Il ajoute: «Les Blancs vont brûler sans même laisser trace de leurs cendres tandis que les Indiens deviendront éternels»[27]. Cependant, le messianisme, loin d'être uniquement mystique, est également révolutionnaire en son essence, car il prône la résistance guerrière. Les chefs de guerre s'allient aux chefs religieux. Voyez le cas des Shawnee Tecumteh (Tecumseh) et Laulewasikaw (Tenkswatawa), des Ottawa Pontiac et Neolin, et tant d'autres. L'idée d'une rédemption par le retour des morts fait son chemin rapidement. Des prophètes surgissent çà et là et prêchent la bonne parole, n'hésitant pas à parcourir le territoire pour aller convertir des nations

voisines. Les prophètes empruntent et syncrétisent dans la mesure où, séduits par le destin du Christ, ils donnent une leçon aux chrétiens[28]. Des rêves, des transes, des visions leur permettent de communiquer avec le Grand Esprit et de répandre son enseignement[29].

L'analyse des mouvements religieux depuis le XVI[e] siècle révèle une analogie: les uns ont engendré les autres et, dans ce sens, les revendications contemporaines sont marquées du sceau de la continuité avec le passé[30]. Toutes les révoltes autochtones n'ont pas été inspirées par un prophète, mais sa présence est fréquente. Si le messianisme prend une dimension plus politique, à cause du discours qui le soustend dans les périodes cruciales qui opposent les Indiens aux Européens, observons que les fondements de la pensée sont antérieurs à la colonisation. Il a cependant une forme beaucoup plus épique que celle des prophètes historiques. Toutefois, à la différence de Dekanawida, fondateur avec Hiawatha de la Ligue des Iroquois, et héros culturel par excellence, les prophètes des siècles suivants échouent en définitive dans leur mission salvatrice, trahis par le pouvoir politique extérieur auquel ils doivent faire face et dont ils ignorent fondamentalement les rouages et le fonctionnement. Historiquement, les messies apparaissent à quelques exceptions près, tel Ganeodiyo (dit Handsome Lake ou Beau Lac, le Seneca), fondateur de la religion du même nom, au moment où il est trop tard. Tout se passe comme si le monde amérindien, jusqu'à la fin du XIX[e] siècle en particulier, ne pouvait appréhender le pouvoir de coercition des institutions européennes et la suprématie de l'État. De même, il n'a aucune possibilité de saisir l'étendue et la dimension démographique européenne, qui se juxtaposent en contrepoint dans la mouvance des épidémies qui ravagent les populations indigènes.

En dépit de la dissimilitude des cultures, le discours sous-jacent du messianisme reste fondamentalement le même: rationnel et magique, il invite à un renouveau terrestre, à un retour aux sources archaïques avec l'aide de forces surnaturelles. Le prophète — personnage souvent au passé obscur dans la vie— reçoit directement son inspiration du Grand Esprit ou du Maître de la Vie. Il est chargé de délivrer les femmes et les hommes des dangers funestes qui les guettent. Il communique avec les forces supraterrestres souvent dans un sommeil proche de l'hypnose ou de la catalepsie. Ses révélations ne peuvent s'accomplir que si les adeptes obéissent scrupuleusement à des règles et suivent des rites prescrits. L'obsession de la pureté équivaut à la délivrance. En transmettant des codes qui lui sont dictés par une puissance souveraine, le prophète, visionnaire, intègre dans l'univers quotidien, l'espace cosmique et l'espace terrestre, rappelant que l'un et l'autre sont indissociables.

Dans une autre perspective, le messie se donne mission de consacrer un territoire désacralisé par des forces maléfiques, et d'en retrouver le centre. Pour faire face au chaos, il puise son inspiration dans les mythes et les rites. Il est chargé de changer le destin de son peuple, et, du même coup, le cours de l'univers. Les Amérindiens sont partie intégrante du corps de la terre et, historiquement, c'est au moment où elle était le plus menacée qu'ils se sont révoltés. C'est pourquoi le symbole (bien galvaudé de nos jours) si évocateur «la terre est notre mère» renvoie à une réalité concrète. Smohalla[31], prophète wanapam (Sahaptin), chef de la doctrine des Rêveurs, disait vers 1850:

> Ceux qui divisent la terre et qui signent au bas d'un papier pour recevoir une parcelle seront privés de leur droit et punis par la colère de Dieu.
>
> Vous me demandez de labourer le sol. Devrai-je alors prendre un couteau et déchirer le sein de ma mère? Mais à sa mort, elle refusera que je repose en son sein.
>
> Vous me demandez de piocher pour ramasser les pierres. Devrai-je alors lui déchirer les entrailles pour recueillir ses ossements? Mais à sa mort, je ne pourrai plus pénétrer dans son corps pour renaître.
>
> Vous me demandez de couper l'herbe et de la ramasser pour la vendre afin de m'enrichir comme les Blancs. Mais comment oserais-je couper les cheveux de ma mère?
>
> C'est une loi mauvaise et mon peuple ne peut lui obéir. Je veux qu'il reste auprès de moi. Tous les morts renaîtront; leur esprit renaîtra dans leur corps. Nous devons attendre ici en la demeure de nos ancêtres afin d'être prêts à les accueillir dans le sein de notre mère[32].

Citation paradoxale dans la mesure où la vision des peuples chasseurs est différente de celle des peuples agriculteurs et où le rapport à la terre ne porte pas tout à fait les mêmes connotations. C'est surtout chez les seconds que la notion «terre-mère» existe, et on la voit particulièrement à l'œuvre dans les rites et les mythes. Ces derniers essaient souvent de résoudre le paradoxe entre les chasseurs et les agriculteurs, de montrer qui sont les plus forts, qui sont les plus purs. Quoi qu'il en soit, ce qui nous intéresse ici n'est pas tant la spécificité du rapport à la terre, dont la pensée iroquoise témoigne largement, que la nature sémantique des paroles de Smohalla. Celles-ci s'apparentent à un chant sacré qui tente de contrôler l'univers environnant, de

contrer la fatalité du destin.

Ces données illustrent que les mondes amérindien et européen restent séparés par des frontières infranchissables qui durent encore de nos jours. Il n'est pas étonnant dans ces circonstances que la religion messianique prêche le retour des morts et qu'elle naisse de ces formidables tensions. On pourrait presque affirmer que c'est une règle: chaque fois que les autochtones ont été confrontés à des tensions extérieures (oppression, extermination), on a vu apparaître une nouvelle religion contre le désespoir. Les prophètes se lèvent aux moments les plus périlleux: la danse des Esprits qui se répand comme une traînée de poudre dans l'Ouest américain dans la deuxième partie du XIX[e] siècle correspond à la disparition du bison, aux attaques meurtrières des soldats américains, aux épidémies de variole, à la progression de la colonisation et à la création des réserves. C'est donc sur une ligne double, religieuse et politique, que se déploie la lutte des Amérindiens. Le pouvoir du messie passe par la parole, parole sacrée, véhicule souverain qui canalise la ferveur et la détermination des fidèles. Puissance du verbe, puissance de la poétique.

Parlant au début de mon texte de politique messianique, je faisais référence à ces différents niveaux de réaction contre le pouvoir coercitif. Les peuples autochtones américains, aussi longtemps qu'ils se souviendront de leur histoire, n'accepteront jamais le destin que l'Europe leur a réservé. D'ailleurs, ils ne sont pas seuls dans leur refus. Les peuples du quart monde, selon l'expression consacrée que je n'aime pas plus qu'il faut, exigent l'exercice de leurs droits. Ce faisant, ils font appel à leurs traditions séculaires pour justifier leurs différences fondamentales. La révivíscence est un phénomène qui continue de jaillir ici même, de sourdre de tous les coins de la planète, alimenté par une ambition capitale: l'affirmation de l'identité culturelle, (concept à la mode, néanmoins concept typique des malaises de notre civilisation).

Nous ne sommes plus au XIX[e] siècle. Le «Messiah Craze» qui apportait l'extase semble être à des années-lumières. Il n'en est pas moins riche d'enseignements. Signe des temps, en revanche, quand on examine certaines formes discursives propres aux revendications autochtones contemporaines, on peut faire des analogies avec le fondamentalisme millénariste qui se répand aujourd'hui dans le tiers monde et qui effraie tant l'Occident. Voyez, par exemple, le fondamentalisme d'un Louis Hall. Par ailleurs, il est plutôt inquiétant, ce monsieur, vous ne pensez pas, lui qui s'inspire aux sources du racisme le plus élémentaire, (je fais allusion à son hypothèse sur l'origine velue et simiesque des Européens). Si personne ne l'écoutait, on pourrait supposer qu'il n'est qu'une sorte de faux avatar. Ce n'est pas exactement le cas. Son manifeste inspire les jeunes gens, distille la haine et crée la panique chez les bonnes gens: «Faites sauter les ponts. Faites des brèches dans les centrales nucléaires». *Apocalypse Now* . En fin de compte, Hall est bien plus dangereux quand il ne délire pas: il énonce alors des vérités classiques à propos du colonialisme.

La régénération par la violence[33], la mystique du guérillero, le «recours aux forêts» (dont Oka n'est pas le premier exemple, tant s'en faut, en Amérique du Nord), haut symbole de l'utopie (autre sujet qui ne manque pas sur notre continent), d'un désir de métamorphose. J'aimerais dans une autre lettre développer ces concepts. Enfin, ces «warriors» qui occupaient la forêt de pins à Oka, ils n'auraient pas récusé les paroles de Chateaubriand pénétrant en pays mohawk pour la première fois et se livrant à la folie lyrique: «…j'entrai dans les bois qui n'avaient jamais été abattus, je fus pris d'une sorte d'ivresse d'indépendance: j'allais d'arbre en arbre, à gauche, à droite, me disant: "Ici, plus de chemins, plus de villes, plus de monarchie, plus de république, plus de présidents, plus de rois, plus d'hommes"[34].» Bien entendu, je doute fort que nos politiciens puissent faire une lecture semblable à propos d'un événement qu'ils jugent déviant et participant de l'anomalie.

Je sais, je me suis éloignée quelque peu de mon propos initial qui paraissait si excentrique et qui portait sur le sujet suivant: «faire sa valise». Pourtant, ce sujet revient périodiquement, et il était à la mode cet été. Les explications qui précèdent nous aideront-elles de savoir qu'il s'inscrit dans une continuité? nous feront-elles comprendre pourquoi il resurgit? Je le crois. Quand j'assistai à la première convention de l'*American Indian Movement* qui se tenait à White Oak, en Oklahoma, peu après l'occupation de Wounded Knee, les leaders tenaient des propos enflammés qui se résument ainsi: «Il faut rejeter les *Wasichu* (les Blancs) à la mer, ils doivent retourner d'où ils viennent. Nous les aiderons à boucler leurs valises afin qu'ils déguerpissent au plus vite». Poing levé, les participants manifestaient leur assentiment. J'ai pu également assister à des rituels qui s'inspiraient de ceux de la danse des Esprits de 1890. Les chants, la musique, les rythmes transmettaient au rituel un pouvoir hypnotique singulier: on fermait les yeux, et le monde réel n'existait plus. Jusque-là, j'avais beau avoir vécu dans plusieurs communautés autochtones, je n'avais jamais eu l'occasion d'appréhender le sens du mot «Blanc» en tant que signifiant maléfique, malveillant

et mauvais. Ce concept pessimiste allait faire son chemin dans l'esprit de Blancs qui formeraient le chœur des flagellants. Et comme il se trouvait là bien peu de «Blancs» à des kilomètres à la ronde, vous imaginez la situation délicate dans laquelle j'eusse pu être. Pourtant, il n'en fut rien, et nul ne devrait s'en étonner. Cette frénésie des mots ne peut s'accompagner de gestes concrets. Irréalisable! Par contre, si personne ne doute de l'inefficacité pratique de ces mots, il ne faudrait pas mésestimer pour autant leur efficacité symbolique. Tout le problème est là, et c'est la raison pour laquelle on les réentend périodiquement sous une forme ou une autre. Ils peuvent faire sourire, et pourtant ils cachent une intensité dramatique relativement facile à orchestrer d'autant que les Blancs qu'ils visent aiment avoir peur.

Voyez comment il a été aisé de se jouer des sentiments des Québécois cet été sur la question des revendications territoriales. Un journal anglophone de Toronto —dont les informations furent reprises avec une belle unanimité par les journaux montréalais —, publia un article dans lequel il montrait la part qui serait réservée aux Québécois après un règlement territorial: il ne leur restait plus que la frange littorale du Saint-Laurent, tout le reste disparaissait au profit des autochtones. Adieu la belle province! Des bruits coururent au sujet de l'île de Montréal que, paraît-il, les Mohawk s'apprêtaient à reprendre sur-le-champ ou en tout cas réclamaient à cor et à cri. À entendre les commentateurs et les auditeurs qui donnaient des coups de téléphone pendant les «talk show» qui se succédaient sans laisser le temps de reprendre son souffle, devrait-on réellement quitter l'île avec armes et bagages? la «leur» laisser, comme ça, avec toutes ses rues, ses maisons, ses parcs? Une telle chose était donc possible? Inutile d'ajouter qu'on entretenait l'équivoque, prenant soin de ne pas expliquer qu'il s'agissait là plutôt d'une métaphore, d'une reconnaissance de dettes. L'imagination, cette folle du logis, battait la campagne. La rumeur s'enflait: les Hurons voulaient l'île d'Orléans, les Montagnais et les Cris le nord du Québec, les Algonquins l'Abitibi. Le Québec réduit à une peau de chagrin: «Si tu me possèdes, tu posséderas tout...»[35]. On a ici un bel exemple de manipulation du Canada anglais qui craint comme le diable la séparation du Québec. Il est quand même étonnant qu'il fasse grand cas des territoires autochtones ici sans devoir faire le même examen chez lui. Cependant, ne nions pas l'évidence: il faut plus d'un partenaire pour se livrer au jeu de la manipulation.

Péril en la demeure

Mis à part peut-être les autochtones dont la langue seconde est le français, comme les Montagnais, les autres autochtones réalisent non sans déchirement ce que pourrait signifier un Québec indépendant. Qu'ils ne soient pas spontanément séparatistes, qu'ils n'embrassent pas une cause qui ne les concerne guère, c'est parfaitement leur droit. Qui pourrait leur en tenir rigueur? La possibilité que le Québec se sépare un jour leur apparaît sans doute comme une aberration. Les Mohawk et les Cris voient cette éventualité d'un fort mauvais œil. Les Cris veulent même faire sécession du Québec. Quant aux Mohawk, ne reconnaissant ni le Canada ni les États-Unis comme leur patrie, l'inscription de leurs réserves dans un Québec séparé est *a fortiori* impensable. Qu'ils trouvent à cette occasion une oreille fort attentive auprès des anglophones du Canada, et, encore plus, de ceux du Québec et en particulier du parti Égalité, n'a rien de surprenant. Voilà une occasion inespérée pour les anglophones de se faire les champions de la cause autochtone, de parader vêtus du manteau des innocents.

Le moins qu'on puisse dire, c'est que le Canada français a perdu de la crédibilité dans l'affaire d'Oka. Le moins qu'on puisse dire encore, c'est que le Canada anglais en a profité pour se refaire une image. Ce travestissement éthique n'est pas sans rapport avec les liens que nous entretenons, anglophones et francophones, depuis toujours; il n'est pas sans rapport non plus avec la manière dont la majorité se comporte quand elle a besoin de faire la leçon: elle exhibe alors ses vertus. Il est facile dans les circonstances où on communique dans la même langue de faire accroire le pire sur le compte des autres. Hélas! la langue française nous sépare des autochtones beaucoup plus qu'on pense, c'est un très grand handicap de ne pouvoir utiliser un langage commun. Ce sont le plus souvent les anglophones qui font le lien linguistique, et malheureusement, la traduction et l'interprétation qu'ils rendent de nos propos ne sont pas toujours à la hauteur. Quoi de plus facile d'accuser les hommes de racisme. Il pervertit tout ce qu'il touche et rien de ce qu'on fera et dira par la suite ne changera l'impression initiale. C'est pour notre grand malheur ce qui est en train de se produire ici. Même si on sait qu'aucune société sur terre n'est exempte de racisme quand les circonstances s'y prêtent, l'exemple d'individus à Châteauguay et à La Salle, aussi affreux puisse-t-il être, a pris préséance dans les médias et dans les esprits, occulté les actes de ceux qui appuient la cause. Faut-il s'étonner qu'à la suite des effigies brûlées, on ait lapidé des voitures? Certains y voient

la main du Ku Klux Klan quand d'autres affirment que les membres de cet organisme ultra-réactionnaire étaient présents aux barricades, distribuant des tracts, sollicitant de nouveaux membres. Certes, cela est fort possible et probable, mais notre société n'a pas besoin de l'excuse du KKK pour faire une analyse de comportement.

Et voilà: les milieux anglophones sont pleins de chuchotements à cet effet, l'amalgame est là qui conforte: «Les Québécois sont racistes».

À part cette catégorie de gens qui portent en eux des préjugés soit par ignorance —la catégorie profonde qui existe dans toutes les société—soit par une volonté de ne pas reconnaître la différence, il en est une autre dont la soif de justice est grande. Malheureusement, ce qu'on a retenu des événements de l'été dernier ressortit beaucoup plus encore à la première catégorie, celle qui frappe, celle que les médias aimaient à projeter sur nos écrans de télévision et dans nos journaux. Le sujet est à vendre...

Autre donnée: le discours sur les Amérindiens appartient à tous et à chacun. On voit très bien ce phénomène à l'œuvre dans notre société «savante» où, du jour au lendemain, des individus deviennent de supposés spécialistes. Ici, il suffit de prétendre s'intéresser à une question —qu'importent la nature, la difficulté, le sujet—, pour devenir instantanément un «expert», un «spécialiste», reconnu tel quel par l'institution. Mots clés, sans doute, mots passe-partout sans réserve. Chez nous, le «spécialiste» est comme le psychanalyste de l'École freudienne: il ne s'autorise que de lui-même. Malheur et gourmandise de la compétition qui fait de la recherche une affaire d'argent. Pourquoi? Mystère et boule de gomme. Alors, les autochtones s'étant imposés sur le devant de la scène, vous pressentez la pléthore de «spécialistes» qui risquent de se prononcer irrévocablement à leur sujet. Or qui a pris la peine de se pencher sur les études amérindiennes un tant soit peu sérieusement se rend compte que la tâche est quasi insurmontable. Les travaux consacrées aux autochtones d'Amérique du Nord sont innombrables. Mythologies, rites, poétique, organisation sociale et culturelle, archéologie, ethnohistoire, et j'en passe, forment une trame dense et continue. Un éternel recommencement. Mieux on connaît, plus on devient modeste. Pour l'ignorant, c'est l'inverse: moins il sait, plus il se fait prétentieux: un rien lui suffit et le voilà qui pérore à tous les vents. Notre société se contentant de peu, il a alors de bonnes chances d'être entendu sur la place publique. Le degré zéro de la tradition intellectuelle. J'y vois là une façon de minimiser l'étendue et la profondeur du sujet. Une stratégie de l'*insignification* . Si tout le monde peut en parler, c'est qu'il ne doit pas y avoir grand-chose de signifiant à dire. Nos gouvernements sont prêts à investir des sommes relativement importantes pour étudier des sujets à la mode, mais accordent, et encore je suis généreuse, de petits budgets pour les recherches amérindiennes. Voyez par exemple la vogue actuelles des études interethniques et inter-culturelles. Elles sont nées de la nécessité, je suis la première à en convenir, d'interpréter les dynamiques culturelles et sociales des minorités ethniques nationales, et la façon dont elles se situent à l'intérieur de la société dominante. Seulement, la place réservée aux Amérindiens dans toutes les études qui visent à modifier et à comprendre notre comportement social et notre vision culturelle reste toujours fort secondaire (quand elle n'est pas inexistante). Le raisonnement académique s'apparente-t-il à celui de l'État? Rappelez-vous les années 1960 quand le département des Affaires indiennes relevait du ministère de l'Immigration! Pourtant, il existe au Canada anglais, aux États-Unis, des centres universitaires consacrés aux études autochtones. Je ne sais pas comment je réagirais si j'étais autochtone, je sens que je n'aimerais pas ça du tout.

Mais rien de rien ne m'illusionne[36]

Je sais, j'ai déjà trop insisté sur l'irréductibilité des relations inter-ethniques anglophones et francophones. Il n'empêche, aussi longtemps qu'elles ne seront pas résolues (peut-être jamais), nos relations avec les autochtones s'en trouveront bouleversées et dénaturées. Permettez-moi de vous raconter une histoire qui illustre ces propos. Cette histoire est tirée de ma propre expérience de vie, et je pense que, dans ce sens, elle est irremplaçable. Dans les années 1960, j'ai fait du terrain dans la baie d'Hudson et la baie James. J'avais commencé par m'installer à Poste-à-la-Baleine. Seulement je trouvais l'atmosphère étouffante à cause de la compétition entre les fonctionnaires fédéraux et provinciaux, le révérend anglican et le prêtre catholique. On avait fermé quelque temps auparavant la base militaire de la défunte ligne de radar Mid-Canada censée protéger les Canadiens des attaques soviétiques! Précurseur primitif de la base de l'OTAN au Labrador qui allait tant faire parler d'elle. La présence de militaires dans ce poste isolé avait laissé des séquelles. Toutes sortes d'histoires circulaient à propos de tout et de chacun rendant les contacts difficiles. Je me souviens du missionnaire, un bel Italien, qui accusait son collègue anglican de comploter contre lui, de lire son courrier et de répandre des propos fallacieux et diffamatoires à son sujet. Le révérend l'accusait

d'être le géniteur de métis illégitimes, propos que j'entendrai presque partout où je passerai à l'endroit des missionnaires. Délire ou réalité, cet exemple illustre à quel point le climat à Poste-à-la-Baleine était —déjà!—empoisonné par les Blancs qui y vivaient. Ce n'est pas nouveau, les anglophones essayaient de régler leurs comptes aux francophones par autochtones interposés. Les fonctionnaires provinciaux, nouvellement arrivés, avaient mission de répandre la bonne parole au sujet de la «révolution tranquille» dont tout le monde se fichait éperdument dans ce coin de pays. Enfin, il était temps, on prenait possession du territoire, on allait leur montrer aux Anglais que «on était maîtres chez nous».

On m'avait parlé de Grande-Rivière que l'on vantait comme un lieu harmonieux. De fait, elle l'était cette île ensablée sise à l'embouchure de la rivière La Grande où on eût dit que le temps était suspendu. Les gens allaient et vaquaient à leurs occupations. Ils vous souriaient et toujours vous saluaient. Ce n'est que des années plus tard que le discours sur «l'homme blanc» apparaîtra. Chez les Montagnais de Schefferville, c'était pareil: on n'appelait pas encore les Blancs des Blancs, mais des «Canadiens». Pour l'heure, à Grande-Rivière, on se contentait d'exorciser sa venue. On avait inventé le «bogeyman», un être encore mythique, mi-figue, mi-raisin, vêtu d'une chemise à carreaux et d'un jeans, un appareil-photo en bandoulière, des lunettes noires au visage, qui avait la curieuse habitude de se camoufler dans le tas de bran de scie qui jonchait la rive adjacente au moulin du curé. Il en surgissait tantôt rieur, tantôt grondeur, selon les mauvais et les beaux jours. Parfois, il se promenait dans la forêt où il était préférable de l'éviter. «L'homme blanc» était encore minoritaire même si, mine de rien, au cours des années il avait fini par investir les champs économique en créant un réseau de commerce de fourrures; religieux en faisant du prosélytisme; administratif en donnant aux Affaires indiennes un contrôle sur le destin de la communauté.

Le vieux missionnaire catholique, dont la barbe blanche et la robe noire luisante et usée symbolisaient un passé suranné, un archaïsme d'un autre âge, était là depuis 1928. Il était triste, mon missionnaire, de n'avoir pu convertir, au fil des ans, que cinq individus, mais il avait fini par comprendre qu'il valait mieux se spécialiser dans un autre domaine que celui de la foi. Il avait donc ouvert une école, bâti un dispensaire, cultivé un jardin, et construit passagèrement une porcherie qui dura le temps aux chiens esquimaux de dévorer, par une nuit d'hiver, la truie infortunée. Parfois, il se révoltait et sortait, pour reprendre son expression, une «photo» de Martin Luther déguisé en démon qu'il mettait sous les yeux de Cris égarés en sa demeure. «Voilà l'homme à qui vous avez juré allégeance!» criait-il. Les Cris n'en pouvaient mais. Ils ne savaient pas qui était ce bonhomme de Martin Luther dont le commun des mortels ignore jusqu'aux traits physiognomoniques, (rien à voir avec le portrait peint par Lucas Cranach). Quel désespoir le poussait donc à se ridiculiser ainsi? Il m'avait confié qu'un de ses amis missionnaires, persuadé d'avoir raté sa vie puisqu'il n'avait su convaincre les Indiens de se convertir, avait tenté de se suicider. Aujourd'hui, je sais qu'il parlait de lui.

Je décidai de me rendre à Grande-Rivière. Hélas! avec la nouvelle politique provinciale (bonne pour nous Québécois en tout état de cause), les transformations ne tardèrent pas à se manifester. Bientôt, des fonctionnaires provinciaux arrivèrent; ils se mirent aussitôt à hisser des drapeaux à l'emblème du fleurdelisé. Or ces drapeaux jetaient de l'ombre sur ceux de l'«Union Jack» et de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson (la seule entreprise commerciale qui eût jamais le droit d'avoir ici son propre drapeau), qui flottaient dans le Grand Nord depuis des décennies. En ce qui me concerne, on pouvait bien tous les brûler, sauf que les Cris et les Inuit de la localité les subissaient de mère en fille et de père en fils, en conséquence de quoi ils comprenaient mal qu'on rajoute un drapeau «français». De mauvaises langues ne leur avaient-elles pas soufflé: «*The French are coming* »? Exactement comme si on eût affaire à une invasion de caractère belliqueux semblable à l'expédition du chevalier de Troyes au XVII[e] siècle, et que la tradition orale eût préservée. Cette fois, les «Français», à défaut de canons et de mousquets, débarquaient avec leurs vices connus: braillards, buveurs, danseurs, fornicateurs, libertins, épicuriens, en somme, de vrais sauvages. Ils avaient des mœurs douteuses et d'inquiétantes différences que le ministre anglican se plut à souligner afin de mettre ses ouailles en garde.

Les «French» allaient tout chambarder, changer le bel ordre établi par les marchands et les missionnaires. Nos fonctionnaires zélés, sans aucune expérience nordique antérieure (ils avaient été recrutés par des annonces parues dans les journaux et n'avaient aucune formation; ainsi, l'un d'entre eux était vendeur de sous-vêtements pour hommes à Montréal, et ce n'est pas que je méprise ce métier, loin de là, mais enfin celui-là était, disons, un vendeur obscurantiste), accrochaient des photos du premier ministre de la province espérant que sa bobine supplante celle de la «queen» qui, avec ou sans son prince, régnait en maîtresse des lieux au point qu'on

se serait cru partie de la Grande-Bretagne. Kafka: «Notre administration n'a pas changé, les plus hauts fonctionnaires viennent toujours de la capitale, les moyens, sinon de là, du moins du dehors, les subalternes sont de chez nous. Rien n'a changé. Et de cela nous nous contentions...»[37].

En quittant Poste-à-la-Baleine, je préférais aller me faire pendre ailleurs; j'avais compris que les liens anglo-français avaient peu d'affinités électives. Moi, j'aimais les Indiens. Je me méfiais des Canadiens anglais, et je me gardais des Canadiens français (je n'étais pas encore sur le chemin de la sagesse, qui vous conduit tout droit à l'identité, si chérie aujourd'hui, censée vous fournir un super-ego, un surmoi freudien gros et fort comme un char d'assaut, qui vous protège des agressions). On n'échappe pas à l'histoire quand elle se fait sous son nez. À Grande-Rivière, un géographe, rendu fou furieux par l'amour insensé qu'il portait à son pays, étroit d'esprit comme on en trouve souvent dans cette profession qui pourtant, par définition, devrait ouvrir des horizons, nationaliste à outrance, eut l'idée géniale de hisser le fleurdelisé à plusieurs endroits stratégiques du village. Il allait partout répandant la bonne nouvelle que désormais le Québec allait s'occuper des autochtones. Pour commencer, il fallait franciser tous les toponymes de la région, et pour montrer qu'il était sérieux, il allait remplacer les deux autres drapeaux par le nouveau. Il ne demanda pas son avis à la population locale, des Cris et des Inuit, estimant que c'était pour son plus grand bien. Hélas! des chasseurs ne tardèrent pas à prendre les drapeaux pour cible s'amusant à les cribler de balles.

Je ne sais pas si le pasteur anglican ou le marchand de la Compagnie leur avaient inspiré ce mauvais conseil, car il faut avouer que le fleurdelisé claquant joyeusement dans le vent était de mauvais augure pour ces gens-là qui avaient persuadé les autochtones qu'en réalité ils étaient en Ontario. Combien de fois, ai-je sorti une carte du Québec m'évertuant de toutes les manières possibles de prouver que Grande-Rivière, c'était en P.Q. «Là, m'égosillais-je, vous voyez bien que ce n'est pas en Ontario! C'est écrit en gros NOUVEAU-QUÉBEC! NEW QUEBEC!» «Mais pourquoi NOUVEAU, rétorquaient-ils, qu'y a-t-il de si nouveau? Et puis s'ils ont écrit ça, c'est qu'ils cachent quelque chose.» Les gens hochaient la tête. Les fonctionnaires avec qui ils faisaient affaire venaient d'Ottawa, Ont. Cela était bien suffisant. Pour le reste, ils ne voulaient pas se mêler de chicanes toponymiques où les noms de lieux donnés autrefois par les Français avaient été remplacés par ceux des Anglais, lesquels étaient rebaptisés à nouveau par les premiers. Que le cap Jones, qui marque la limite sud de la baie d'Hudson, se transforme en pointe Louis XIV, que la rivière Nelson soit rebaptisée Bourbon, ou que la rivière Pishoprogen devienne, par barbarisme, Bishop Roggan, du nom d'un évêque anglican imaginaire, peut leur chaut. Il y a longtemps qu'ils ont investi le territoire et identifié les endroits.

Il n'empêche, cette fausse confusion m'avait toujours intriguée. Dernièrement, j'ai lu dans un document[38] une explication lumineuse à ce sujet. Bien entendu, je n'ai jamais douté que les Cris eussent su où ils étaient. La question est tout autre: jusque dans les années 1960, Québec n'avait jamais manifesté d'intérêt pour les habitants de cette région, qui avaient toujours relevé d'Ottawa. Au début de ce siècle, en 1901, le département des Affaires indiennes préparait un traité qui devait comprendre la baie James orientale et occidentale. Le département avait l'intention de rattacher administrativement ce traité à celui de «Robinson-Huron», signé en 1850, concernant les Ojibwa du lac Huron et du lac Supérieur. Au milieu du XIX[e] siècle, on avait découvert d'importants gisements miniers, et le gouvernement avait trouvé hautement «désirable» d'abolir les droits des habitants de la région. C'est l'Honorable William B. Robinson qui fut chargé de mener à bien les délicates négociations avec les Ojibwa, et de contrer, pour reprendre son expression, leurs revendications «extravagantes»[39].

Le département préparait en 1901 un beau coup quand on sait de quelle manière les traités ontariens ont subjugué les autochtones du Haut-Canada. De plus, le Québec eût été mis devant une évidence. La même année, une pétition signée «résidants de l'Ontario et du Keewatin» circulait à Ottawa bien que certains des signataires fussent du Québec. À l'époque, en Abitibi et dans le sud de la baie James, les Algonquins et les Cris chassaient d'une province à l'autre où ils comptaient et des territoires et des parents. Cependant, le département des Affaires indiennes cherchait à territorialiser les chasseurs selon des frontières définies grâce à une politique qui avait fait ses preuves tout au long du XIX[e] siècle. En 1942, il fut même question de regrouper les chasseurs appartenant aux «bandes» dite «Abitibi Dominion», «Ontario Abitibi» et «Rupert House» sur la rivière Harricana qui coule dans le sud de la baie James à cheval sur les deux provinces. En définitive, le traité de la baie James ne fut jamais conclu, et seule la «bande» dite «Abitibi Dominion» signa un traité concernant des terres situées en Ontario, auxquelles elle renonça contre la somme annuelle et *per capita* de quatre beaux dollars.

Ce film remarquable de l'O.N.F., datant de 1970 et intitulé «The Other Side of the Ledger», vous le connaissez? On y voit la célébration en grande pompe du 300e anniversaire de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, mais on y entend aussi le point de vue des chasseurs amérindiens. Ils disent calmement tout leur ressentiment, comment ils ont été exploités par la Compagnie, comment elle s'est enrichie à leurs dépens, pourquoi en définitive elle leur appartient puisqu'ils estiment en avoir été les véritables artisans. On y aperçoit des Indiens allant chercher les quelques dollars dérisoires garantis par les traités. La ligne de partage est marquée au couteau: entre le mode de production domestique et le mode de production mercantiliste, il a bien fallu que les chasseurs fassent un arrangement. Dans un seul sens. Cela n'allait pas toutefois sans problèmes stratégiques. Considérons d'abord comment une société de chasseurs-cueilleurs, qui, par définition, est une société du «refus du surplus et de l'accumulation», qui ne produit que «le maximum de ce qu'elle a besoin», est amenée à faire du commerce[40]. Cette démarche implique alors un «renversement de sa vision économique»: plutôt que de pratiquer le troc à partir de ses biens de consommation, elle doit produire une accumulation de biens— en l'occurrence des fourrures— afin de se procurer des denrées rendues nécessaires par le commerce qu'elle est amenée à pratiquer. Dans cette spirale algorithmique s'insinue une donnée qu'elle ignorait jusque-là: le crédit. Afin de retourner sur son territoire du chasse une famille de chasseurs a besoin d'un certain nombre de biens: lard, thé, sucre, farine, balles, fusils, etc. Pour se les procurer, le chasseur se rend auprès du marchand qui lui fera crédit sur les ballots de fourrures qu'il s'engage à ramener. Vient le printemps suivant où la dette au marchand est effacée, mais où le chasseur n'a fait aucun bénéfice. L'automne suivant, pour repartir sur son territoire de chasse, il devra à nouveau s'endetter si entre-temps, pendant l'été, la morte saison, il n'a dû s'y résoudre[41]. Ce qui ne changera jamais, c'est le système de crédit et de débit qui rend le chasseur esclave de la Compagnie. Le film rend compte de cette donnée de manière exemplaire. Ô ironie du sort et des temps écologico-sentimentaux que nous vivons, la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson à Montréal vient de décider de ne plus vendre de fourrures dans son magasin de Montréal.

Je voudrais terminer cette longue digression sur l'antagonisme social en territoire nordique par une autre histoire. Dans les années 1970, j'ai eu l'occasion de retourner à Grande-Rivière. Les circonstances avaient changé. J'avais écrit une thèse de doctorat sur le village, et je me souviens très bien dans quel désarroi je me trouvais devant la conclusion à écrire. Il allait se passer quelque chose, il fallait qu'il se passe quelque chose. La situation telle quelle ne pouvait pas durer. J'ai donc décidé de ne pas conclure. Bien sûr, je ne suis pas devineresse, et je ne pouvais donc savoir que la baie James allait devenir le site d'un méga-projet en hydro-électricité. Les années 1970 furent des années choyées pour les consultants. On consultait partout, les firmes, les universités, les gouvernements engageaient des consultants bien payés et, en général, fort dévoués. Les Cris se trouvaient dans une tourmente, et ils avaient un besoin urgent de consultants blancs et anglophones, j'insiste. La langue est ici fort importante. Ce sont eux qui touchèrent les fonds nécessaires pour mener à bien leurs investigations. Une fortune! Les francophones, et ils étaient rares, qui avaient précédé la nouvelle vague durent filer: ni vus ni connus. L'est de la baie James colonisé par la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson dès 1670, occupé par les missionnaires anglicans plus tard au XIXe siècle, n'était «nouvelle-québécoise» que de nom. Ce sont des chercheurs canadiens, souvent fort sérieux d'ailleurs, qui eurent le privilège d'étudier l'impact du barrage hydro-électrique sur la population. Je ne mets pas en cause leur bonne volonté, ce que je mets en cause, c'est l'évacuation *de facto* des Québécois qui continue jusqu'à ce jour.

Ce jour d'août à mon arrivée à Grande-Rivière, j'ai découvert la triste réalité. Des chercheurs étaient partout. Ils avaient investi le territoire totalement et jalousement. On aurait juré que les Cris leur appartenaient. J'ai souffert. La communauté avait beaucoup changé. Les tensions linguistiques que j'avais observées dans les années 1960 n'étaient rien à côté de celles qui existaient à présent. Des fragments me reviennent en flash-back: 1) j'entre dans la maison des consultants, une visite de courtoisie, sans plus. Ils veulent savoir qui je suis. Je me raconte. Ils n'ont jamais entendu parler de moi. Sans importance. Au moment de partir, j'aperçois dans un tiroir entrouvert un exemplaire de ma thèse (soutenue en Sorbonne). Comment se trouve-t-il là? De quel droit? Je repars si troublée que je n'ose pas réclamer mon bien. L'impression de ne pas exister; 2) il fait beau dans l'île. La chasse aux oies est ouverte. Dès potron-minet, les chasseurs sont partis par petits groupes. Ils remontent le long de la baie. Le bureau de poste, une cabane, est fermé: Noah les accompagne. Un ouvrier canadien-français, chaussé de gros sabots, se heurte le nez à la porte du bureau de poste. L'air d'un chat fâché. Il donne des coups de pieds. Il crie: «Maudits sauvages!». Mes hôtes, de vieux amis, prétendaient

que je n'étais pas québécoise, mais parisienne: «Cela t'évitera des ennuis», me disaient-ils. Je ne mens pas, voyez-vous, on ne ment pas dans ces histoires, simplement on n'ose pas les raconter, c'est autre chose. Être Québécois dans cet endroit était une tare tant la situation était tendue et mauvaise.

J'ai quitté Grande-Rivière la mort dans l'âme. Les missionnaires et les marchands laissaient le pas aux nouveaux penseurs. Les clercs de l'idéologie, les contrôleurs du verbe et de la pensée. Foin de l'histoire des idées. Les années ont passé: je ne suis pas retournée à Grande-Rivière. Je préfère ne pas y penser (ô «bleeding heart»). Je veux garder intacts ces souvenirs de l'île avec les chiens de traîneau qui hurlaient à la lune, les caches de nourriture, les lampes à huile qui brillaient la nuit, le grondement de la rivière au printemps, les violons magiques des McKenzie qui nous faisaient danser les *reels* écossais, la chasse à l'ours, le craquement de la glace sur la rivière quand on allait lever les filets à poisson, et, surtout, l'amitié des hommes et des femmes. Grande-Rivière, c'est cela, et plus encore. Tant pis, je n'oublierai jamais.

Et libre soit cette infortune[42]

Que pouvons-nous ajouter à propos des événements de Kanesatake et de Kahnawake sinon qu'ils devaient arriver tôt ou tard? Le fait qu'ils soient survenus au Québec relève de circonstances historiques générales et de séquences événementielles bien précises. À cet égard, il faut distinguer les premières des secondes. Le caractère historique des revendications des Mohawk et des Algonquins de Kanesatake est une chose[43]; l'implication de «warriors» pro-casino d'Akwesasne dans le conflit alors que, quelques mois auparavant, ils étaient eux-mêmes en position conflictuelle avec les Mohawk de la faction adverse, en est une autre. Ce n'est pas un hasard si l'été de Kanesatake est devenu symbolique des luttes autochtones, mais ce n'est pas non plus un hasard s'il est arrivé après le printemps d'Akwesasne. Que militants et sympathisants soient venus des États-Unis et du reste du Canada pour accorder leur appui prouve de manière irrévocable l'exemplarité d'Oka (bien qu'il y ait eu de grands absents comme les traditionalistes d'Akwesasne). Toutefois, une exemplarité qui se situe d'abord dans la mouvance des revendications territoriales; elle n'est pas nécessairement particulière aux autochtones du Québec, qui auraient la plus mauvaise position dans l'échiquier. Ce qu'on a tenté de faire croire au point que les autochtones en sont convaincus. Dernièrement, j'écoutais une juriste d'origine ojibwa affirmer que le Canada était plus sympathique à leur cause que le Québec. Ligne de pensée qui semble être devenue la règle à l'Assemblée des Premières Nations. Pourtant, les Affaires indiennes et l'armée sont des institutions fédérales.

Où donc, sinon ici, pourrait-on imaginer deux ministres et un juge de la Cour suprême en train de signer une entente avec des guérilleros dont le bas du visage est camouflé par un foulard, et au sujet desquels on apprendra plus tard que l'un d'entre eux est mineur? Cette farce (et ses dindons de fonctionnaires) ne pouvait avoir lieu qu'au Québec, pays où les contradictions inhérentes l'ont rendue possible. Je me demande dans quel coin d'Amérique latine, des États-Unis ou du Canada anglais, par exemple, des guérilleros auraient pu si longtemps narguer le pouvoir étatique sans une répression meurtrière? Peut-on imaginer les Mohawk occupant le pont de Brooklyn pendant des semaines? Les Iroquois de Six-Nations ou de Tyendinaga bloquant l'accès de Toronto? Impunément? Voyez Alcatraz en 1969, Wounded Knee en 1973, les milliers de balles qui furent tirées, les morts et les blessés pendant le siège et les meurtres qui suivirent les années suivantes[44]. C'est un paradoxe, mais il est plus facile de porter sa cause dans un pays où on sait que les gens sont *a priori* sympathiques que dans un autre où ils le sont moins. (Malheureusement, cela n'est plus tout à fait vrai depuis Oka.) Ce qui est en jeu autant pour les Américains que les Canadiens anglais se trouve dans la prétendue grandeur de l'État et de sa souveraineté, ce dont nous, Canadiens français, parlons beaucoup mais ne faisons pas.

Cela ne signifie pas que tout va bien dans notre royaume, loin de là. Les «siècles de déshonneur» ne se gomment pas facilement. Le gouvernement voudrait bien se débarrasser de son «problème indien»: tantôt, il fait l'autruche espérant que l'orage passera, tantôt, il joue au dur, menace et tempête. Le jeu de la carotte et du bâton illustre plutôt bien la politique du Canada envers les autochtones.

Un jour, prochain, espérons-le, après que le déluge de mots, qui finissent par convaincre sans qu'on sache trop s'ils sont vrais ou faux, aura diminué d'intensité, il faudra bien que nos politiciens s'attachent à une tâche essentielle: celle du nécessaire dialogue avec les leaders autochtones. Ils devraient se méfier de la rhétorique emphatique et tenir un langage qui correspond à la réalité. Quand des ministres —y compris le premier ministre—, quand l'ancien gouverneur-général, traitent les Mohawk de «terroristes», c'est qu'ils préparent un coup fourré. Ne prenons qu'un exemple: celui de la répression policière en territoire mohawk. On nous assure qu'il y a à peine quelques voitures de la S.Q. à Kahnawake; or, qui aura pris la peine d'aller véri-

fier sur place découvrira qu'il n'en est rien du tout, que la S.Q. et la G.R.C. exercent censure et répression sur la population autochtone, et sèment tous les éléments propres à une discorde qui sera impossible à résoudre. Quand des Mohawk comparent Bourassa à Saddam Hussein, le Québec tantôt à l'Irak, tantôt à Auschwitz[45], est-ce que c'est du même ordre que Bush opposant Saddam à Hitler? Dans le premier cas (laissons le second aux exégètes qui ne manqueront pas de faire florès), il me semble que c'est à un certain niveau sémantique une projection imaginaire à la manière de Lovecraft ou de Wollstonecraft. Démonomanie. Monstres & Co. Égarement de l'injure. À un autre niveau, c'est surtout un aveu de désespoir devant l'incurie de nos politiciens.

Car il faut bien l'avouer, nous sommes tombés cet été dans un discours tiers-mondiste qui fonctionnait très bien chez nous comme dans les pays européens. J'ai eu quelque problème à écouter Madame Blondin, député dene pour les Territoires du Nord-Ouest, expliquer les larmes aux yeux au Parlement d'Ottawa que «les petits enfants mouraient de faim à Kanesatake». La vérité était autre: personne n'a jamais manqué de nourriture au siège de Kanesatake. On a vu d'ailleurs après le siège quantité d'aliments de toutes sortes jonchant le sol, ou dans les congélateurs. Personne non plus n'avait froid, on a trouvé encore des monceaux de vêtements. Je n'ai guère été réconfortée par le bafouillage du ministre des Affaires indiennes. On pourrait tout de même user d'un vocabulaire qui correspond à des réalités locales, et non à celles de l'Amérique centrale. Génocide, torture, famine, bain de sang, terroristes sont des mots chocs que la presse a utilisés à l'envi.

À ce sujet, les journalistes ne firent pas que de la figuration. Tels des danseurs, des chanteurs et des musiciens, ils jouèrent sur la scène du lac des Deux-Montagnes et des barricades de Châteauguay des rôles où l'amateur côtoyait le professionnel, l'hystérique le flegmatique. En tout cas, ils n'étaient ni aphones ni aphasiques. On eût dit qu'un maître de ballet leur dictait quels pas-de-deux danser, qu'un maître de chant leur montrait quelles pièces chanter, qu'un maître de musique leur indiquait quelles partitions jouer[46]. Ah! la belle ordonnance, il faudrait un Rameau pour écrire un opéra-ballet à la manière du XVIII[e]. J'aurais bien des choses à dire encore. C'est assez.

Qui veut la fin veut aussi les moyens[47]

Les Amérindiens du Canada jouissent d'un prestige certain auprès des peuples dits du quart monde. Il suffit d'assister, par exemple, aux ONG qui se tiennent chaque année à l'ONU à Genève pour s'en convaincre. Les Amérindiens du Canada apparaissent forts et structurés, et ils tiennent un langage novateur. D'une certaine manière, ils apparaissent comme les chefs de file de la révolution autochtone contemporaine. Les regards des autochtones des deux Amériques sont tournés vers eux: cela ceux du Canada le savent très bien[48]. Cela est d'autant plus tragique que le gouvernement du Canada qui tient à défendre ailleurs les droits des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes se révèle ici faible d'esprit et pauvre d'imagination. Sans doute craint-il de voir surgir les cadavres —exquis?— qu'il a si soigneusement enfermés dans son placard. La lenteur dont il fait preuve pour régler les négociation territoriales de Kanesatake montre son peu d'ardeur dans le dossier. Le refus qui vient d'être signifié aux Gitskan de Colombie britannique confirme que la lutte s'avère encore très longue et que le chemin est semé d'embûches et de périls.

Tout se passe comme si le gouvernement s'en tenait encore à la doctrine propre au siècle dernier, celle de la «destinée manifeste» (*Manifest Destiny*) qui prévoyait à court terme la disparition des autochtones. On pouvait supposer alors qu'ils étaient prisonniers d'un système d'enfermement et de ségrégation: tel était du moins ce que le sens de l'histoire leur réservait: intégration ou disparition. Or, on sait que les événements qui se sont succédé montrent le contraire. Ils ont su éviter— et cela en passant par des épreuves diverses: souffrance, ethnocide, subversion— les pièges que leur tendait l'État, en particulier dans le cadre d'une opération tentaculaire de normalisation du champ politique qui eût signifié leur assimilation *de facto*. Ce n'est donc pas par hasard si les autochtones doivent avoir recours à une contestation permanente: au niveau du discours, de la langue, de la tradition ou du respect de la tradition.

Ce militantisme renaissant auquel on assiste depuis une vingtaine d'années déconcerte la société blanche nord-américaine. Prenant exemple sur d'autres cas, elle n'hésite pas à ravaler toute résistance au registre du terrorisme et de la délinquance. Étant donné que pendant des décennies, elle n'avait pas entendu la voix des Amérindiens, elle a cru que ceux-ci avaient abdiqué. Cependant, il faut souligner que cette résistance n'a jamais cessé, elle n'a fait que prendre de nouvelles formes, que gagner en intensité en raison de la crise qui monte de l'intérieur même de notre société.

Les Amérindiens de ce pays mènent un combat politique qui consiste à réinscrire ce qui a été effacé par des siècles de colonisation, à mettre en évidence

une vérité essentielle: celle des premières nations qui se déploient soudain sur la ligne d'horizon, et que l'histoire, en se faisant, avait camouflées et réduites.

J'ai appelé ma lettre le «Cabinet des Estampes». Cabinet pour musée, estampes pour gravures. Eaux-fortes mordantes en clair-obscur. L'épreuve de l'artiste. (Les preuves de l'ethnologue?) Mais je n'aurai pas parcouru le catalogue de l'irréparable.

Ces temps-ci, je suis envahie d'une infinie tristesse. J'imagine que je ne suis pas la seule, mais cela ne change rien, et ne me rends ni moins triste ni plus gaie pour autant.

Notes

1. Alejo Carpentier, *Le partage des eaux*, Gallimard, Paris, 1986. Tr. de l'espagnol, *Los pasos perdidos*. Le héros est un musicien qui fuit New York pour se réfugier chez les Indiens de la forêt vénézuélienne, où il connaît des aventures fabuleuses. Revenu de force à New York, il réussit à regagner la forêt pour se rendre compte qu'elle n'existe plus comme avant, que le chemin qu'il avait emprunté lui est désormais interdit.

2. Respectivement les gouverneurs français et anglais.

3. La Hontan, *Voyages du baron de La Hontan dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, tome I, Éditions Élysée, Montréal, [1705], 1974, pp. 60-61

4. *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, vol.1, Flammarion, [1841] 1982, p. 298.

5. Une petite partie de ce texte a servi à une présentation devant les délégués du Parlement européen à Kahnawake en janvier 1991.

6. Pour une explication magistrale du principe de *Wakan Tanka*, voir J.R. Walker, «The Sun Dance and other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota», *Anthropological Papers*, vol. XVI, part II, American Museum of Natural History, New York, 1917, pp. 51-221.

7. J. Epes Brown, ed., *The Sacred Pipe*, Penguin, New York, 1972., p. 77.

8. Ward Churchill & Jim Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression*, South End Press, Boston, 1990.

9. *Ibid.* et Johanna Brand, *Life and Death of Anna Mae Aquash*, Lorimer & Co, Toronto, 1978.

10. Je pense en particulier à Mulroney qui a tenu exactement ce discours cet été, mais sans promesses aucune.

11. *Histoire et mémoire*, Folio, Gallimard, Paris, 1988.

12. Collection de manuscrits contenant lettres, mémoires, et autres documents historiques relatifs à la Nouvelle-France, vol. I, 1692. Québec, Imprimerie A. Coté et Cie, 1883. p. 593.

13. Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et Punir. Naissance de la Prison*,. Gallimard, Paris, 1975.

14. Robert François Damiens écartelé pour avoir donné un coup de canif à Louis XV.

15. *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

16. *Relations des Jésuites*, année 1649.

17. *Op. cit.*, pp. 52-53

18. *Cf.* P. Désy, éd., «L'Indien blanc: transculture et identité», in *Trente ans de captivité chez les Indiens Ojibwa. Le récit de John Tanner*, Bibliothèque historique, Payot, Paris, 1983, p. X.

19. En 1686, le chevalier de Troyes et une centaine de soldats, après une opération de guérilla dans la baie James, s'emparaient de trois fort de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson et rentraient victorieux à Québec.

20. *Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals and Correspondence 1819-35*, The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1963, p. 104.

21. David Blanchard, *Patterns of Tradition and Change: The Re-Creation of Iroquois Culture at Kahnawake*, ms, Ph. D., University of Chicago, 1982, p.105.

22. Archives publiques du Canada, MG1 C11A vol. 45.

23. Emma Coleman, *New England Captives Carried to Canada*, vol. I, Portland, Maine, 1925, p.294.

24. Yolande Lavoie, démographe, communication personnelle.

25. Vine Deloria, *God is Red*, Delta Book, New York, 1980, p. 176.

26. *Le Totémisme aujourd'hui* , PUF, Paris, 1962, p. 141.

27. Philleo Nash,«The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation», pp.415-416 *in* Fred Eggan, ed. *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1955, pp.375-442.

28. En contrepoint, dans les années 1630 apparaît chez les Puritains de Nouvelle-Angleterre la doctrine millénariste (qui annonce l'événement du millenium, c'est-à-dire la période de mille ans annoncée par l'Apocalypse pendant laquelle le principe du Mal sera rendu impuissant). Les Puritains réservent alors une place aux Indiens dans leur nouvelle théocratie. Cela n'a rien d'étonnant car le vieux mythe du siècle précédent selon lequel les Indiens sont descendants d'une des Tribus perdues d'Israël est ressorti. Notons que dans les années 1650, le grand projet eschatologique des Puritains finira par disparaître. Voir P. Désy, «Un secret sentiment: les diables et les dieux en Nouvelle-France au XVII[e] siècle», pp. 123-176. *L'impensable polythéisme. Études d'historiographie religieuse*, F. Schmidt, éd., Éditions des Archives Contemporaines, Paris, 1988, pp. 148-149.

29. Voir James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion*, Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington 1896.

30. P. Désy, «Messianisme et politique», ms, 1983.

31. Smohalla vivait dans la région de la rivière Columbia avec un petit groupe de ses fidèles. Sa doctrine se répandit rapidement parmi les tribus de la région et gagna de nombreux adeptes dont certains se chargèrent de la répandre encore plus loin. Elle dépassa largement les frontière puisqu'on rapporte qu'en 1856, une prophétesse kutenai prêchait chez les Athapaskan du fleuve McKenzie.

32. Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 721.

33. Richard Slotkin a développé ce concept dans *Regeneration through Violence : The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860*, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.,1973.

34. *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

35. Allusion au roman de Balzac *La peau de chagrin*. On trouve cette inscription sur la peau de cuir magique qui se réduit avec chaque désir accompli.

36. Voir note 42.

37. *La muraille de Chine*, Folio, Gallimard, Paris, 1981, p. 88.

38. «Historical Notes on the Abitibi Dominion Band, Treaties & Historical Research, ms., MAIN, 1983.

39. Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians*, Belfords, Clarke & Co., Toronto, 1880.

40. Pierre Clastres, Préface, *ibid.*, pp. 11-30 et Marshall Sahlins, *Âge de pierre, âge d'abondance*, Gallimard, Paris, 1976.

41. P. Désy, «Les Indiens du Nouveau-Québec» *De l'ethnocide*, 10/18, Paris, 1972

42. Je veux bien que les saisons m'usent.
A toi, Nature, je me rends;
Et ma faim et toute ma soif.
Et, s'il te plaît, nourris, abreuve
Mais rien de rien ne m'illusionne;
C'est rire aux parents, qu'au soleil,
Mais moi je ne veux rire à rien;
Et libre soit cette infortune.
Rimbaud, «Bannières de mai».

43. P. Désy, «Les revendications historiques des Mohawks», *Le Devoir*, Montréal, les 21, 22 et 23 août 1990.

44. Contrairement à ce qu'on a affirmé, l'armée américaine et les tanks étaient bel et bien à Wounded Knee en 1973. *Cf.* Churchill et Vander Wall, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

45. Voir l'affiche des protestataires au camp Paul-Sauvé d'Oka, qui comparaissait le Québec à l'Afrique du Sud; celle à l'entrée de Kahnawake: «Welcome to Auschwitz-Québec», l'encart paru dans un journal de Toronto: «Stop the Genocide in Quebec».

46. On notera seulement comment les médias ont conduit le bal des thèmes: on aura eu droit à la semaine «Monseigneur Tutu», à la semaine «S.Q.», à la semaine «signature du traité», à la semaine «Lasagna» dont on a fait tout un plat c'est le moins qu'on puisse dire. «Lasagna» est-il ou n'est-il pas Mohawk? Ne serait-il pas plutôt une sorte d'Italo-Indien de western-spaghetti ou de cinéma hollywoodien (autrefois, Hollywood engageait des acteurs italiens pour tenir le rôle d'Indiens), ou encore un «bum» de Brooklyn où il a résidence? Lasagna, c'est d'abord Ronald Cross dont le malheureux cousin fut abattu sans raison par la S.Q. à Kahnawake, il y a quelques années.

47. «Qui veut la fin veut aussi les moyens, et ces moyens sont inséparables de quelques risques, même de quelque pertes», Rousseau, *Du Contrat Social*, Flammarion, Paris, [1762] 1966, pp. 71-72.

48. Il y a quelques années, j'ai visité des M'b^{y}a-Guarani dans la province de Misiones, et quand ils apprenaient que je venais du Canada, la première chose qu'ils me demandaient était de parler des luttes que les autochtones mènent ici.

Consociation and the Resolution of Aboriginal Political Rights: *The Example of the Northwest Territories, Canada*[1, 2]

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Canada is in a period of high constitutional attention. As the review of our constitution takes place, issues concerning the relationship between aboriginal nations and other Canadians comes to the fore. In this paper, I address one of these issues: the translation of accepting the notion of "foundingness" with respect to the political rights of aboriginal nations into political reality. The core of my contribution details the issues and processes by which such a reality can be addressed. In addressing this theme, I focus on developments in the western part of the Northwest Territories where work, including preliminary negotiations between Native and non-Native northerners, has been already undertaken on this issue.

Le Canada vit présentement une période de grands remous constitutionnels. Pendant qu'une révision de notre constitution prend place, diverses questions concernant les relations entre les nations autochtones et les autres Canadiens font surface. Dans cet article, j'adresserai l'une des questions: Comment accepter la notion de peuple fondateur tout en respectant les droits politiques des nations autochtones dans la réalité politique canadienne? L'essence de ma contribution décrira de quelle façon on peut faire face à une telle réalité. En adressant ce thème, je me concentrerai sur les développements qui ont eu lieu dans l'ouest des Territoires du Nord-Ouest où du travail, incluant des négociations préliminaires entre autochtones et non-autochtones résidant dans le nord, a déjà commencé sur le sujet dont traite le présent article.

1. *Introduction*

Canada is now going through a period of high constitutional tension. And, as we head towards the choice between constitutional reform or the departure of Quebec from Confederation, the concept of the nature of Canada's current political structure is under review. This examination inevitably leads to asking ultimate questions about our political ideology. One of these questions is, in fact, the basis for the claim of legitimacy of Canada as a nation-state.

As Elijah Harper's stance in the Manitoba legislature attests, as this type of question moves to the fore, the relationship between Canada and its indigenous population comes into focus within the national agenda. In fact, two kinds of questions, which emerged during the last hours of the Meech Lake debate, will emerge again. The first kind relate to the place of aboriginal peoples within symbolic ideology or, to be particularistic, the "foundingness" of the aboriginal populations within the uniquely Canadian concept of "founding nations." The second kind relate to the translation of accepting a notion of "foundingness" of aboriginal societies into a political reality.[3]

The core of my contribution concerns how the second kind of issue is being resolved in the North-

west Territories. However, I wish to spend a moment on the first issue. The underlying question about Canada's legitimate occupation of its territory is connected to how Canada defines occupancy of this land prior to European presence. That is, it relates to state ideology about the inherent nature of aboriginal peoples and their societies at the time of and since first contact with Europeans.

While there is very little open discussion of the issue, Canada has put forward points of view with respect to legitimacy. In general these arguments tend to be self-serving in that they rely on versions of the settlement thesis that tend to view legitimacy as based on such concepts as the inherent superiority of Europeans or that the land was "unoccupied" prior to European contact and hence "discovered" -an image that immediately conjures up the idea that the indigenous inhabitants were either sub-human or did not exist (Asch and Macklem 1991).

Such a self-serving vision was recently asserted by the Attorney-General of Canada. In a December 1989 appearance at a court case in British Columbia on aboriginal rights, Canada argued that "if the plaintiffs (an aboriginal nation) ever had sovereignty, it was extinguished completely by the assertion of sovereignty by Great Britain (Attorney General of Canada 1989)." In other words Canada asserted that, as I have stated elsewhere: "we doubt that your people were ever civilized enough to have a political system. But even if you did, our mere presence automatically cancelled it (Asch 1991)." It is a view that is echoed in the recent *Sparrow* decision in which the Supreme Court of Canada declared that (*R. v. Sparrow* 1990:404):

> It is worth recalling that while British policy toward the native population was based on their right to occupy their traditional lands, a proposition to which the Royal Proclamation of 1763 bears witness, there was from the outset never any doubt that sovereignty and legislative power, and indeed the underlying title, to such lands vested in the Crown.

While such a view of indigenous peoples makes it easy for the state to claim complete legitimacy, it does have the unfortunate consequence of aligning the Canadian thesis of legitimacy with those espoused by colonial regimes and specifically that held by the apartheid state of South Africa. It is a thesis that is unjust and is an embarrassment to both Canada and most Canadians. And, I am sure that this is one reason why it is so infrequently expressed.

The more appropriate answer to the question, in my view, is to accept that aboriginal peoples have a legitimate claim to self-determination and political rights that precedes the existence of Canada and that, following from United Nations' principles in the post-colonial world, continue to have such rights notwithstanding the creation of the Canadian state (Asch 1984:31-34): That, in short aboriginal nations possess an inherent right to self-determination and that includes political rights and self-government (Asch and Macklem ibid).[4] Given this case, the problem, then, is not to deny such rights but rather to untangle the implications of accepting them in a manner that is mutually agreeable and thus leads to peace and harmony rather than disagreement and mistrust.

In addressing such a question, Canada could provide assistance regarding a much larger issue. In reality there is not enough space on this planet to provide a sovereign land base to every people with legitimate rights to self-determination nor the ability by existing nation-states to completely suppress the desire of peoples, through peaceful or warlike means, from striving for such status (Connor 1973).

What, then, is Canada doing with respect to this question? How, in fact, is the Canadian state attempting to address the legitimate rights of ethnonational[5] minorities? And, within that context, what is Canada doing with regard to aboriginal rights especially in the North?

2. *Canada and Consociation*

I begin with a few definitions. Following the thinking of M. G. Smith (1969), I would argue that nation-states have developed three fundamental, constitutional methods by which to organize themselves with respect to their citizens. The first, which he calls "universalistic", argues that the state (through its constitutional ideology and practice) relates to individuals only. In this view, collectivities other than the state as a whole have no official recognition. This is the true "one person-one vote" orientation to democracy. In this form of governance, aboriginal peoples, like francophones, would have no collective rights and, as M. G. Smith suggests (ibid), the result is an inexorable tendency towards the assimilation of minority cultures. The clearest example of this is the United States.

The second form of the state and one which is inherently undemocratic, Smith calls the "apartheid state." Here the state recognizes the existence of

collectivities within it. However, it organizes itself in such a way that one of these segments gains control over the reins of power and dominates the others. Obviously, South Africa provides the primary example of this form.

The final type and the one that is most interesting from our perspective Smith calls "consociational." Here the state recognizes that it is composed of various ethnonational entities and organizes itself so that, in at least some spheres, these entities can express their political rights autonomously.

I have in my own work added a relevant refinement to Smith's definition. I have divided consociations into two types. The first I call *direct* consociation; the second, *indirect* consociation (Asch 1984:77-79). In the former, the state expressly acknowledges the existence of various ethnonational collectivities in its constitutional charter. An example would be Belgium (Senelle 1978). In the latter, the official state ideology follows a universalistic premise. However the state is organized in a way, such as through federalism, that promotes a *de facto* form of consociation. Switzerland provides one such example (Schmid 1981).

While many, especially in the non-French segment might consider Canada to be a universalistic state, in fact it is, at least with respect to the French fact, a consociation (McRae 1974) and, in particular, an indirect one (Asch ibid.). Thus, although Canada has never expressly acknowledged ethnonationality in its constitution, through, for example, the division of powers into federal and provincial sphere in the 1867 Constitution Act, it has created a *de facto* or indirect form of consociation with respect to Quebec. Indeed, I would argue that the "distinct society" clause of the Meech Lake agreement is creating such difficulties because it transforms an indirect consociation into a direct one.

Canadian state ideology, then, already contains consociational principles. However, because consociation is realized through an indirect form, this has meant that constitutional protection is created not by clear statements but rather as the seemingly "unintended" or at least unexpressed consequences of other things. In particular, these other things are: (1) the division of the landscape into provinces; (2) the creation of a federal system in which provinces are given recognized constitutional authority within certain spheres; and (3) the fact that the francophone population forms a clear majority within one province. Change any of these and the current Canadian system of accommodating minority ethnonational self-government is threatened.

Because of a number of factors, not the least of which are a small population that is surrounded by others and its scattered nature across the landscape, as well as the existence of provinces, the current Canadian form of consociation cannot simply be extended to aboriginal populations; at least in the south. Therefore, new principles will have to be developed to extend such autonomy in that part of Canada. These, I believe will be first developed in the Northwest Territories. Thus, it is useful to examine the situation there.

3. *Consociation in the N.W.T.*

The situation in the Northwest Territories is very different. First, when taken as a single unit, aboriginal people form a majority. As well, unlike in the south, the non-aboriginal population resides in concentrated population centres, while the aboriginal people utilize the vast majority of the landscape. Third, the Northwest Territories is not now truly self-governing. And, the Federal Government has accepted that, as the N.W.T. moves towards true self-government and province-like status, the political rights of the aboriginal peoples, as a significant population within the jurisdiction, must be taken into account. Finally, unlike the situation in the settlement of the south, a large number of non-aboriginals accept and support the notion of the special status of northern aboriginal peoples.

The fact that the aboriginal population of the N.W.T. forms a majority is important to note. However, it is the case that this population is internally divided into, depending on one's views, two, three or four ethnonational collectivities. In the east and high arctic, there are the Inuit who number about 17,000 or roughly 80% of the total population in their region (Asch 1984:93). In the west, there are the Dene nation, an Athapaskan speaking people as well as Metis (whom some would consider to be a part of the Dene) and, along the arctic coast and islands, the Inuvialuit (whom some would consider part of the Inuit). The Dene, Metis and Inuvialuit together comprise roughly 17,000 or about 45-50% of the population in that region (ibid).

Because of fundamental cultural, historical and other differences between the Inuit (as well perhaps as the Inuvialuit) on the one hand and the Dene and Metis on the other and because of the geographical

separation of the populations (the Inuvialuit excepted), there has been a call (especially among the Inuit) to divide the N.W.T. into two independent political jurisdictions. One of these, which is to be named Nunavut, will be established in the traditional homeland of the Inuit. The other, now called the Western region but perhaps ultimately to be called Denendeh, would be developed out of the homeland of the Dene, Metis and Inuvialuit.

The N.W.T. population has developed a number of proposals to advance the entrenchment of aboriginal ethnonational rights in this region. For brevity, I will limit detailed discussion here to two proposals that were recently developed through the Constitutional Alliance -a body created in the 1980s which is sanctioned by the Government of the N.W.T. and supported by the Federal Government- that has been charged with creating principles for constitutional self-government in the Northwest Territories. This body was composed of official delegates from the Dene, Metis, Inuvialuit, Inuit as well as members from the Legislative Assembly to represent both aboriginal and non-aboriginal interests.

Following the goal of dividing the N.W.T. into two jurisdictions, the Constitutional Alliance itself divided into two independent organs: the Nunavut Constitutional Forum and the Western Constitutional Forum. Each Forum came up with a specific set of principles which were ratified at Iqaluit in January of 1987. Entitled the "Boundary and Constitutional Agreement" (The Constitutional Alliance 1987), but commonly known as the "Iqaluit Agreement," this document expressed the fundamental charter agreements negotiated by various parties, both aboriginal and non-aboriginal in each region. Each acted to positively protect the ethnonational rights of its aboriginal population. I wish here to briefly outline the conclusions of each.

4. *Indirect Consociation: Nunavut Region*

The Nunavut Constitutional Forum proposal (Nunavut Constitutional Forum 1983) follows the reasoning of *indirect* consociation. That is, it bases protection of Inuit rights primarily upon the fact that, with 80% of the total, the Inuit form a majority population in their region. In fact, generally speaking, the Nunavut Constitutional Forum's model is to extend constitutional protections that now exists with respect to Quebec to Nunavut. Thus, for example, educational rights would be in the hands of the Inuit because, through the constitutional division of powers, education is a provincial responsibility and, because the Inuit are the majority population in Nunavut, they would control education. As well, private law, which in Quebec follows the Civil Code, would follow, because they are a majority, Inuit customary law. As a final example, Inuktitut would be constitutionally protected. However, the apparent rationale for this is that it is spoken by a majority of the Nunavut population.

That this is the rationale is clearly seen when, in the Iqaluit Agreement, the Nunavut Constitutional Forum states that: "Nunavut as the first native majority jurisdiction within the Canadian federation has a particular obligation to structure its institutions so as to reflect Inuit culture (Constitutional Alliance ibid.). It is, as they stated, the desire of the Nunavut Constitutional Forum to develop a constitution based on "accepted and familiar public conventions of Canadian constitutional practice (Constitutional Alliance ibid.).

One strength of this approach is, of course, the fact that it reflects what already exists. One inherent weakness, like that of any indirect consociational arrangement, is that the Inuit might eventually become a minority. This is a concern among francophones in a Quebec of over 6 million people. It might very soon become one in Nunavut for, although the Inuit have over 80% of the population now, their absolute numbers are exceedingly small. Indeed, with a total population of under 20,000 one might foresee a situation where, with the opening of one or two major centres, the non-Inuit population could quickly outnumber the Inuit. However, this matter is not dealt with explicitly in the proposal of the Nunavut Constitutional Forum.

5. *Direct Consociation: The Western Region*

The matter of protection for minority cultures within a framework of majority rule was dealt with by the Western Constitutional Forum. The west is much more complex ethnonationally and, indeed, it is now recognized that even when all aboriginal peoples are taken together they may not now constitute a majority. Furthermore, it is clear that, at least in the near future, most migration of non-aboriginals from the south will be to the more highly developed west than to the east. Under these conditions, more complex solutions were sought. The solution developed by the Western Constitutional Forum was therefore based, at least in large measure, on the principle of *direct* consociation.

The work of the Western Constitutional Forum was greatly facilitated by the fact that the Dene Nation as well as local and regional organizations had already developed a number of alternative models for self-government in their region. One of these, "Public Government for the People of the North" (Dene Nation and Metis Association of the Northwest Territories 1982) popularly known as "Denendeh," I have discussed at length elsewhere (Asch 1984:96-99). One of its key provisions ensured protection of aboriginal political power in a system of majority rule through the use of a 10 year residency requirement. Under the new constitution, it is assumed that this residency requirement would be considered unconstitutional.

Although not adopted specifically by the Western Constitutional Forum, the Denendeh political model did play a significant role in creating the basic principles within which any form of government would be bound. These principles include (Dene Nation and Metis Association of the Northwest Territories 1982):

1. Government must be "public" in the sense that all individuals must have the opportunity to participate regardless of ethnonational background.

2. Government would have to protect the individual rights of all citizens.

3. The collective rights of the Dene (and other aboriginal peoples) would have to be protected.

4. Government would have to respect Dene (and other aboriginal) governing traditions and especially those related to consensus decision-making.

The model developed by the Western Constitutional Forum is called the "partnership" model (Iveson 1985). It is the outgrowth of negotiations that took place among the Dene, Metis, and Northerners (the label of self-designation applied by non-aboriginals), with Inuvialuit as observers, at meetings of the Western Constitutional Forum.

Following the reasoning of direct consociation, the model calls for explicit constitutional recognition of cultural communities and of the enumeration of the rights of each. The cultural communities to be named are: the Dene, the Metis, the Inuvialuit (if they remain in the west) and the Northerners. As three of these communities are composed of aboriginal peoples, the model explicitly recognizes that, among the rights to be enumerated, are "aboriginal rights."

The parties explicitly acknowledge that aboriginal people will constitute a minority within the western jurisdiction. Following from this, all parties agree that the rights of the various cultural communities, including aboriginal rights, will be guaranteed regardless of the proportion of any particular cultural community to the total population of the western jurisdiction (for the actual wording of these sections of the Iqaluit Agreement, see Appendix 1).

As the foregoing discussion clearly illustrates, direct consociation can be very simple and straightforward with regard to principles. The difficulty, as the experience in the N.W.T. bears out, is in the realization of these principles in practice. In a sense, the problem really revolves around how to reconcile the founding democratic principle of majority rule with collective rights for minorities. As preliminary discussions in the N.W.T. indicate, there seem to be at least four fundamental matters that must be addressed in dealing with this issue.

The first is a clear indication of those matters that should be decided on the basis of majority rule alone without reference to ethnonationalties and those which by contrast should be protected from this form of decision-making. This, it is clear, is a matter for intense negotiations among the parties. It is also likely that, at the outset, the majority ethnonationality will argue that virtually all matters must be decided by majority rule whereas the minority collectivities will want as little as possible to be decided on that basis alone.

While serious, detailed negotiations have yet to take place in the N.W.T., the Iqaluit Agreement specifies that, among the matters to be protected from majority decision-making is the official status of aboriginal languages. As well, the Iqaluit Agreement concedes "exclusive aboriginal jurisdiction in limited areas of direct concern to aboriginal peoples," including "land and the political protections required to ensure its maintenance." Finally, because it will be a constitutional document, it is understood that all matters agreed to in the Dene/Metis Final Land Claim Agreement with the Federal Government will be considered protected from changes made through majority rule. This means that, for example, Dene/Metis participation in wildlife management

boards and concerning a number of other matters will be protected.

The second matter is how the protection to minority ethnonationalities will be secured. In the western N.W.T. two types of protection are now under consideration. One way is through the division of jurisdiction between those matters that are to be dealt with by all communities together and presumably through majority rule and those that are to be dealt with by each cultural community separately. This should be derived from negotiations regarding jurisdiction discussed above.

However, there is another concern. It is the need to protect minorities from changes imposed by the majority. For example, a future Denendeh government that includes a large non-aboriginal majority might wish to use a spending authority provision granted to the majority to refuse to fund services in a Dene language. One proposed solution to avoid such unilateral actions by a majority is the use of a veto through the use of principles of double majority. Such a provision might follow the referendum process used in Switzerland. This would mean that such a bill would have to be put to a referendum which would only carry if a majority of all electors that included a majority of Dene/Metis electors agreed. Alternatively, it might follow a process similar to that used in Belgium. This would require that, for such matters, the Legislative Assembly of Denendeh could be divided into ethnonational segments and that to succeed this law would have to be passed by a double majority that included a majority of Dene/Metis members. Another proposed solution, that might be used in situations where a double majority principle might seem inappropriate, is through negotiations that would ensue due to a provision that the executive (or cabinet) itself be composed of members of all four ethnonational communities.

The third matter concerns the territorial jurisdiction of the arrangement. It was envisioned, at first, that the partnership model would apply to the entire western part of the N.W.T. However, the Dene/Metis may advance a different position. The recent land claim confirmed Dene/Metis ownership of 66000 square miles of land. Current government policy encourages private or ethnonationally exclusive forms of government on "reserve" lands. Following from this, the Dene/Metis may well wish to argue for exclusive Dene/Metis government on their own lands and thus wish to limit the operation of the "partnership" with non-Dene/Metis to other lands.

The extent to which the acceptance of such a division would cause difficulties in governance will depend, in large part, on the "model" of Dene/Metis government adopted at the local level. Should the Dene/Metis use a "private" form of government on Dene/Metis lands, such as band councils, this could create additional difficulties for the practice of "partnership," but none that could not be resolved through various structural arrangements.[6] However, this situation may not arise. For example, the people of Fort Good Hope (Sahtu Tribal Council 1989) have advocated the adoption of a form of local government which includes representation from all cultural communities in Fort Good Hope regardless of their number and where decision-making would be based on consensus. Were the Dene/Metis to advance this form of local government for all of Denendeh communities, their arrangements would prove easily compatible with the principles of the overall philosophy and practice of "partnership." Indeed, in a fundamental way, it would mirror the principles and practice of government at the Denendeh-wide level.

The fourth matter is the most crucial. It concerns the method of election of representatives to a Denendeh government. The key conundrum is how to reconcile the principle of one person, one vote with the reality of minority and majority collectivities. Some work has been undertaken, by myself and Gurston Dacks for example, on how to resolve this issue in the western N.W.T. (Asch, M. and G. Dacks 1985) Here, I will outline a slightly modified alternative to it.

This alternative is based on the following principles:

1. It is essential, given Canadian political ideology, to provide a system of voting based on territorial factors, such as ridings.

2. It is essential for the exercise of vetoes by minorities, as well as for election to cultural community councils, that there are separate voters lists for each ethnonational community.

3. It is essential, in order to avoid an apartheid situation, that the ethnonational voters lists be based on achievable factors rather than on ascribed ones. This approach is intended to allow

an individual from each cultural segment to move from one list to another provided only that he or she meets the reasonable, objective and achievable criteria to be on such a list.[7]

The use of these principles could produce a unicameral legislature were the people of the western N.W.T. to decide on the use of a referendum process with respect to vetoes. Were they to decide, however, on the form of veto based on votes within the legislature, it is my view that this would be best accomplished through a bicameral legislature. One chamber of this legislature would be based purely on a territorial-riding formula as now exists in provincial legislatures. The second chamber would be elected on the basis of the ethnonational voters lists. One primary function of this chamber would be to exercise its right of veto on constitutional matters of concern to affected populations. A second function would be to act as a central body with respect to matters that are determined to be within the legislative jurisdiction of each community.

While the indirect approach contains dangers, the direct approach contains great difficulties in moving from principle to practice. There is clearly much work that needs to be done on these and other matters before the west will have a realistic proposal. Still, with land claims negotiations now in the ratification stage and the issue of "self-government" back on the front burner, attention will now be focussed on this work.

6. *Conclusions*

I have spent much time in this paper illustrating the course of constitution building in the N.W.T. I have done this in part because I feel it is interesting to those who have not kept current and also, in part, because I am an anthropologist engaged in this work.[8]

As an anthropologist, I have found the exercise of constitution building instructive of our discipline. Modern political democratic traditions were born at a time prior to the recognition of culture as a primary force in shaping society. In large measure, the constitutions that were products of that age, the United States' for example, do not contemplate the rights of persons within a nation-state clashing with the rights of peoples within that state. The impact of such constitutions, on the one hand, has been the inexorable tendency (to reiterate M.G. Smith 1969) toward the assimilation of minority cultures by majorities and, on the other, absolutism with respect to the definition of self-determination as the right of a majority people to a nation-state with a defined territory. Given, as I stated above, the lack of space on this planet to accommodate such requirements, this way seems, very frequently -as the Middle East attests- to lead to states of permanent warfare.

There must be a better way, one that acknowledges both horns of the dilemma: the right of majorities to self-determination and the right of minorities to self-determination.

When looked at in this light, Canada's 1867 Constitution, took a step towards enlightenment. It found a way, albeit through indirect means, to reconcile, at least in part, these two rights. Yet, when looked at from the perspective of today, it did not go far enough. Hence, Quebec and the distinct society clause; hence, the assertion of aboriginal peoples to founding nation status within Canada.

The better answer, then, seems to be direct consociation. Yet, what I have learned thus far is that direct consociations are only elegant and beautiful in one respect: the express acknowledgement of the existence and the rights of all peoples within it. In other respects, it is hard, contractual and uninventive (at least thus far). It feels, to use a Levi-Straussianism, more like the "restricted exchange" system than the "generalized" one (Levi-Strauss 1969).

The idea of direct consociation, then, only has one advantage, but it is key. It is the advantage to reveal, rather than deny, a fundamental truth about the composition of virtually all nation-states. My northern work indicates that ideas based on direct consociation can have applicability towards the incorporation of the rights of aboriginal nations in southern Canada that now find themselves a surrounded minority within a settler majority. It also seems clear that, as the recent Supreme Court decision regarding the rights of francophones in Alberta to French education attests (*Mahe v. The Queen* 1990), Canada is prepared to accept the validity of principles of direct consociation with respect to the rights of a minority cultural community. Whether these principles can be profitably extended beyond Canada's borders is as speculative as would be the assertion that the Northwest Territories has found the correct approach to the problem.

Nonetheless, the process of Canadian constitution building based on the recognition of the continued existence of aboriginal political rights must begin somewhere. Clearly Canada's Northwest Terri-

tories is that place. For that reason alone, theirs is an experiment worth examining.

NOTES

1. This paper was original given as part of the CASCA Plenary on Ethnonationalism in Canada and the Soviet Union in June 1990.

2. I wish to acknowledge and thank Gurston Dacks and the two anonymous readers for their helpful suggestions on an earlier version of this manuscript.

3. Originally, the first two paragraphs, which were written prior to the demise of Meech Lake, read as:

> Canada is now going through a period of high constitutional tension. And, as we head towards the Meech Lake deadline, the fundamental concept of the nature of Canada's political structure is moving to the forefront. This examination is inevitably leading to asking ultimate questions about our political ideology. One of these questions is, in fact, the basis for the claim of legitimacy of Canada as a nation-state.
>
> As this type of question moves to the fore, the relationship between Canada and its indigenous population comes into focus within the national agenda. In fact, two kinds of questions are emerging. The first kind relate to the place of aboriginal peoples within symbolic ideology or, to be particularistic, the "foundingness" of the aboriginal populations within the uniquely Canadian concept of "founding nations." The second kind relate to the translation of accepting a notion of "foundingness" of aboriginal societies into a political reality.

4. This point of view is echoed in a speech made by Premier Bob Rae of Ontario (1990:3,5):

> ...If we start from the premise, the basic understanding, that before European settlers came, before, if you like, the treaties were signed in 1763, before Confederation in 1867, and before the Constitution of 1982, societies existed north of the 49th parallel which had a system of law in place, which had a system of power and values in place, which negotiated with British and French governments as they arrived...
>
> Quite specifically I say to you this: We believe that there is an inherent right to self-government, that that inherent right stems from powers, and if you will, sovereignty, which existed prior to 1763, certainly existed prior to 1867 and certainly existed prior to 1982.

5. The use of the word "ethnonational" does not originate with me. I found it first in an article by Walker Connor (1973) entitled "The Politics of Ethnonationalism." I use the term first because it differentiates the kind of collectives I am talking about from "ethnic" groups and second because it specifies more clearly that the kind of "nation" I refer to is not necessarily co-extensive with the notion of "nation" in the term "nation-state."

6. One possibility would be to have a council that would coordinate the overlapping activities of Dene/Metis governments with local governments within the "partnership" area. This is a variation on an idea that was proposed by the Dene for governance in the N.W.T. in the mid-1970s and called "The Metro Model."

7. Generally speaking, then, the factors used will not be racial in character. As discussed to date, they are intended to be "cultural" in the sense that they will incorporate key cultural understandings of what it means to be a member of the group, but will be limited in their scope to those kinds of cultural features that can be achieved on the basis of some objective criteria. For the "Northerner" community the criteria for registration on the voters list would probably only include, as it does now, Canadian citizenship and residency in Denendeh for six months. This would mean that, for example, any Dene who wished to move from the Dene (or Dene/Metis) list to the Northerner list would need only demonstrate such citizenship and residency. At the same time, registration of Northerners for the Dene (or Dene/Metis) voters list might require knowledge of the language and culture of the local Dene community, intermarriage and/or long residence (for example 10 years) in Denendeh.

8. I have been engaged in work regarding constitutional development in the western part of the Northwest Territories since the mid-1970s. I acted as an advisor to the Western Constitutional Forum with respect to the "partnership" model in the mid-1980s. As of the date of this writing, I continue to work with the Dene Nation, various Dene regions and others on issues of self-government and constitutional development in the western Northwest Territories.

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APPENDIX 1

The principles are expressed in the Iqaluit Agreement as follows (The Constitutional Alliance 1987):

> Aboriginal people will likely constitute a minority of the population in the western territory after division. Consequently, the Dene, Metis and Inuvialuit are concerned that their political rights, their culture and their future as individuals and as aboriginal peoples be secured to their satisfaction in the new constitution for the western jurisdiction. Non-aboriginal residents of the north recognize and accept the need to address the concerns of the Dene, Metis and Inuvialuit within the context of a public government system based upon democratic principles. To this end all parties to the WCF agree that the following principles shall be addressed and procedure used in the constitutional proposal being developed by the WCF.
>
> a) The overriding objective of a new constitution is to build a system of public government which

will protect the individual rights of all of its citizens and the collective rights of its aboriginal peoples and whose overarching principle is one of bringing peoples together.

b) To accomplish this objective a new constitution must balance two principles:

i) The protection of individuals in that each and every bona fide resident of the western jurisdiction should have the right to participate in and benefit from public institutions, programs and services according to basic democratic principles guaranteed in the constitution, and

ii) The protection of the Dene, Metis and Inuvialuit in that each aboriginal community in the western jurisdiction shall be explicitly recognized in the constitution, and mechanisms shall be entrenched to enable each community to flourish as a distinct cultural entity regardless of its proportion of the total population.

EDITORIAL NOTE

By Stephen Inglis

Canadian Museum of Civilization

Visitors to major museum exhibits are accustomed to being offered a range of published material to orient, guide, enhance or memorialize their visit. Yet many of those who saw "Into the Heart of Africa" at the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) got even more than they, or the museum, bargained for. In addition to a free brochure and a handsome companion book produced in conjunction with the exhibit, visitors left with a pamphlet distributed on the street in front of the museum building by supporters of the Coalition for the Truth About Africa. This six page pamphlet, deeply critical of the exhibition, may represent a new genre in "museum" publication; it certainly reflects some of the issues of representation and consultation now facing museums and particularly the anthropologists who work for them.

The Coalition, now made up of over fifty-three organizations, from African and Caribbean students to activists against apartheid and racism, claims that the exhibition "represents a clear and concise attempt to mislead the public and to further tarnish the image of Africa and African people". According to the pamphlet, the exhibit does this by "neglecting Africa's contribution to humanity" and emphasizing "the demise of Africa and Africans". There is an attempt to counteract perceived errors by reproducing quotations on African contributions to science, medicine, art, architecture, etc, and by recommending further reading.The writers object not to the artifacts and photographs but to the content of labels and text panels accompanying them which the pamphlet describes as "trite and condescending", vividly reminiscent of "a past that is still not past".

The latter statement reveals one key element in the controversy. Exploring the colonial and imperialist history of many museum collections, such as this one, can be painful for some visitors, regardless of how well it is done. It has been argued that "Into the Heart of Africa" reveals more about Toronto than Africa and surely more about Canadian values and interests during the periods discussed than about those of Africans, yet the response to the exhibit illustrates once again that the two cannot be separated. Canadian society now encompasses descendants (whether actual or empathetic) of both sides in all previous colonial encounters. Placing the facts of exploitation and humiliation before the public in a courageous and innovative manner, such as is attempted in "Into the Heart of Africa", inevitably makes the museum a stage where the continuing legacy of racism and colonialsm will be acted out.

No Canadian museum exhibition has generated such emotion since "The Spirit Sings". Opinions range widely from those of opponents who say the exhibit should never have been presented to those of supporters who see the criticism as an attack on the objectivity and academic independance of the museum. What follows are two reviews by scholars who live and work in Toronto and for whom "Into the Heart of Africa" became part of this experience.

"Into the Heart of Africa"
Royal Ontario Museum. 16 Nov 1989; Curator: Jeanne Cannizzo. Catalogue. 96 pp. $19.95.
"IRONY (AND, OF, IN) ARTIFACTS"

By Michael Levin
University of Toronto

"Into the Heart of Africa" is an excellent presentation of a collection and of the complexities of the interpretative role of museums. The exhibit is based on the *in situ* collection of the ROM, which is largely the bequests of families of Canadian missionaries to Africa and Canadians who served in the armies of the British Empire in African colonies. The opposition between their mission and the achievements symbolized in the artifacts runs through the exhibit.

It is arranged in four rooms, two blue rooms, a grey room and the largest beige room. The beige room displays drums, masks and headdresses, weapons, musical instruments and offers mbiras (thumb pianos) to play and headphones to listen to African music. The smaller blue and grey rooms provide an entrance to the collection, its context and introduces its collectors and their African experiences. The connection of Canada to Africa and the imperialist sympathies of Canadians at the turn of the century are symbolized early in the exhibit in the first blue room in the blow-up of the 2c Canadian stamp of "Xmas 1898" picturing Canada at the centre of the Empire marked in red on a world map, over the slogan '"We hold a vaster empire than has been'".

Two messages are directed to the visitor: this collection, the choice of pieces, the inadequacies of it, the emphasis on certain kinds of objects were the product of the ignorance and naïve religious and imperialist sense of superiority of the missionaries and soldiers, and that African cultures had a range of expression, creativity and aesthetic sensibility, not to mention knowledge, that was beyond the understanding of these agents of "Commerce, Christianity and Civilization". The captions elaborate the self-serving attitudes, motives, and blindness to African achievements of the collectors and clearly dissociate the exhibit from these attitudes of racist superiority.

Among the artifacts the Kota reliquary figures, the nail-figure from Angola, the Janus-faced mask from the Cross River area, the four-faces Igbo headdress and the Yoruba diviner dance head-dress are interesting; the plaque of a Benin warrior and the Ashanti gold necklace are especially notable. Smaller objects, weapons, drums, combs and baskets predominate; captions and texts are helpful and provide a broad context. The curator has been scrupulous about the information on the source of the objects and intriguing on the different meanings that can be attached to the same objects.

The sublety of the double message of the exhibit, about museums and how they come to have collections and about Africa, may be at the root of the present controversy. A definite condemnation of imperialism and colonial oppression is missing from the texts elaborating on the objects. Inverted commas indicate irony or distance from the explicit meanings of the words used. These signals of doubt may not be recognized, and first impressions created by the physical organization of the exhibit may also be contributing to unhappiness with it. The placing of the 'The Imperial Connection' at the beginning of the exhibit as an introduction to it may suggest values to which some observers are more sensitive than others.

Michael Levin is a professor of Anthropology at the University of Toronto.

"INTO THE HEART OF AFRICA"

By Hazel Da Breo
York University

The fatal flaw in the "Into the Heart of Africa" exhibition lies not in the actual production of the exhibition itself. Technically, in fact, it is a splendid display.

Impeccably designed, colour, floor space and wall construction create an environment completely complementary to each aspect of history addressed by the Curator. The visitor passes from the silent, grey claustrophobia of the colonial era through to the spacious warm colour of Africa and her artifacts. Visually, the exhibition comprises a selection of artifacts of the most exquisitely compelling beauty. Thematically, the composition is precise. Having decided to focus on Canadian involvement in Africa, the exhibition holds to its premise like a tightly woven tapestry, never straying from its central position.

Historically, as the ROM speakers have been obliged to repeat, the exhibition is factually correct. It actually does exhibit events as they did unfold in that time, in that place, among those people. Yes, Canadians did in fact travel to Africa and ram-rod their "culture" up the collective African behind.

The fatal flaw may be read in the horribly painful silence following the questions asked not only by the Black Community in Toronto, but by a clear majority of visitors of all nationalities to the ROM: "Why choose to exhibit this now? How do you realistically expect this show to relate to contemporary Toronto in general and to Toronto Blacks in particular?" Within the silence is the unstated realization that the exhibition planners failed to adequately assess the potential enormity of negative response to "Africa".

The negative response centres specifically on two main concerns, these concerns being the very core of the exhibition. The first addresses the choice of theme, and the second the use of the visual image as illustrative of that theme.

Because the art was acquired by Canadians travelling in Africa, to display that collection as narrative of Canadian history would normally be a valid position. But the movement, particularly by Artists and Arts Organizations to correct the devastation performed on Africa and therefore on all black peoples by the Canadians and Europeans "travelling" there, has gained such momentum over the years that any public exhibition dealing with Africa and not taking a definite pro-Africa position is bound to receive a thumbs-down response.

Traditionally, museums speak with such an authoritative voice that they "preclude the possibility of anything but affirmation"[1]. Viewers typically come to a museum not to question, challenge, or debate controversial issues, but for a history lesson at a glance, a confirmation of actual life as documented and preserved for our value-free absorbtion. Visitors go away from the museum therefore, with a certain unquestioning acceptance of what they have seen.

Knowing this, and in the anticipation of an exhibition about Africa that would affirm Africa's often

ignored glorious and dignified pre-slavery past, a majority of Black visitors did not make it past the first segment of the exhibition.

Holding to its theme, the introduction focused on Canadian personalities, highlighting their beliefs, attitudes, and "conquests"; in short, telling **their** history. Africa, as seen through **their** eyes was "barbarous"; the natives were "ignorant"; the continent was "dark"; Christian light begged to be shed on the "pagan nation".

Though some visitors read the irony implied in the quotation marks and could intellectualize their way through an appreciation of this presentation, many, many more were pained and outraged at the choice of focus. As always, the experiences of the first 15 to 20 minutes of the exhibition coloured the audiences' appreciation of the entire show and affected the ultimate response.

The sum of their outrage came squarely to rest on an image now known as "The Offending Photograph". Dominating its space, this larger than life illustration depicts a British soldier on horseback driving his spear through the shield and heart of a Zulu soldier who emerges on foot from the bushes. In the background, more British troops advance on the Africans who flee stumbling for their lives. So overwhelming is this image of disgrace and defeat that most viewers stopped dead in their tracks there, neglecting to read the accompanying text. The text explains that "... the Zulu (was) one of the best known and most feared African peoples in the British Empire. A twenty-thousand-strong Zulu army annihilated a column of the invasion force, killing hundreds of British soldiers..."[2]. In other words, the use of this drawing in *The Illustrated London News*, 1879, is a typical example of the masterful propoganda designed to boost British morale and destroy the image of the Black. Likewise, the irony implied in juxtaposing displays of the highly valued woven silk cloths of the Asante people with a photograph of a European female presuming to offer these skilled craftspeople a "lesson in how to wash clothes"[3] was not appreciated by most viewers.

Obviously, the subtleties implied in design and text, and the expansive, unambiguous and sincerely wonderful concluding exhibit of African artifacts were all completely over-shadowed by the negative mind-set created by the introductory historical perpective and accompanying visuals. Moreover, many of the visuals were photographs or illustrations interpreted as photographs. And photographs, more than any other art form, are understood to capture an immediate, infallible truth. The unfortunate use of these photographs by the Museum comes across as an authoritative statement of Black Africa on its knees before White Europe.

The history lesson at a glance (emphasis on "glance") highlighted Canadian missionary and military activity in Africa, without clearly stating the brutal nature of their presence there and without clearly describing the magnificence and glory of pre-slavery African civilizations.

The exhibition's **intent**, though curatorially valid, was found unacceptable to a populace largely dedicated to correcting the negative stereotypical image of Blacks in Western culture. The **role** of the Museum in creating social values came seriously under question. Furthermore, the ROM'S response, not only to the Black demand that the exhibition be altered, but to mainstream media questioning the exhibition's motive, was handled so poorly that Toronto as a community was almost forced to conclude that the arrogance and immorality associated with an aggressive dominant culture was alive and working within the ROM.

Certainly, mistakes were made. Unfortunately, mistakes are all too common between large mainstream institutions making virgin voyages into diverse and unfamiliar cultures and members of the very cultures that the institutions believe they adequately represent.

A few unambiguous messages have finally been conveyed. Museums and communities must dialogue and interact in real, on-going terms. Cross-cultural understanding must be actively encouraged in every discipline and walk of life. And at this point in the earth's history, African art must only be used in the positive service of African peoples worldwide.

Hazel Da Breo, a student of Art History at York University, is a curator of Caribbean art.

Notes

1. Allan Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning" *Thinking Photography*, (MacMillan : 1982) p. 85.

2. Image: "Lord Beresford's encounter with a Zulu" *Into the Heart of Africa:* Exhibition catalogue, Jeanne Cannizzo, Royal Ontario Museum, 1989.

3. Image : "Mrs. Thomas Titcombe offering a lesson on how to wash clothes", *Ibid*, p. 30.

XVI[e] Conférence Internationale du Conseil International des Musées du 19 au 26 septembre 1992, Québec

par Céline Saucier

Coordonnatrice, Communications et relations publiques, ICOM 1992, Quebec

Québec, ville du patrimoine mondial de l'Unesco, accueillera, du 19 au 26 septembre 1992, 2 000 muséologues venus des quatre coins du globe. Cette Conférence générale est placée sous le thème «LES MUSÉES: Y A-T-IL DES LIMITES?» Il invite les représentants de la communauté muséale à débattre de l'avenir des musées, de leurs nouveaux rôles, de leurs défis aujourd'hui et de la façon dont ils doivent évoluer et s'adapter aux changements dans la société. Les sous-thèmes stimuleront la réflexion des participants, à savoir: la redéfinition du rôle des musées dans la société, la recherche impliquant le rôle des musées face à leur mission. L'implication des institutions à caractère muséologique dans les diverses cultures sera également explorée.

La XVI[e] Conférence générale comportera trois parties distinctes:

- la cérémonie officielle d'ouverture, les séances plénières et les ateliers réunissant tout les membres présents de l'ICOM;
- les réunions, les activités et l'assemblée générale de chacun des comités internationaux et des organisations affiliées ainsi que le Forum interdisciplinaire réunissant tous les comités et organisations;
- l'Assemblée générale de l'ICOM clôturera les activités de cette Conférence.

De plus, de nombreuses autres manifestations seront offertes aux participants et aux personnes accompagnantes, telles que des réceptions, des excursions, des déjeuners-causeries, un rallye du patrimoine, l'invitation à participer à la conférence annuelle de la Société des musées québécois et à visiter le Salon ICOM 1992.

Qu'est-ce que l'ICOM?

Le Conseil international des musées (ICOM) est une organisation professionnelle qui se consacre au développement des musées dans le monde entier. C'est l'organisation représentative de la profession muséale sur le plan international ainsi que l'instrument technique de la réalisation des programmes de l'Unesco concernant le développement des musées. L'ICOM regroupe actuellement 9 000 muséologues répartis dans cent vingt pays. Associé à l'Unesco en tant qu'organisation non gouvernementale, il a son siège social à Paris, à la Maison de l'Unesco.

Les comités internationaux et organisations affiliées

C'est au sein des 24 comités internationaux de l'ICOM que se réalisent les objectifs de l'organisation. Ces comités représentent divers types de musées: musées d'art et d'arts appliqués, de sciences, de littérature, d'histoire naturelle, d'archéologie, du costume, d'égyptologie, d'ethnographie, d'instruments de musique, du verre, les musées régionaux, ceux des sciences et techniques et ceux des sciences naturelles, ou bien des disciplines: conservation, éducation et action culturelle, sécurité, administration, documentation, architecture et techniques muséographiques, échange d'expositions internationales, formation du personnel, muséologie, relations publiques. Les 24 comités internationaux tiennent chacun une réunion annuelle, dans des lieux toujours différents, pour mieux répondre à la demande des membres. À cet ensemble s'ajoutent 8 organisations affiliées qui ont souhaité associer leurs travaux à ceux de l'ICOM: armes et histoire militaire, arts du spectacle, confédération internationale des musées maritimes, mouvement international pour une nouvelle muséologie, musées d'agriculture, musées de plein air européens, musées de transports.

Un code de déontologie professionnelle

En 1986, l'ICOM a adopté un code de déontologie professionnelle que tous ses membres choisissent de respecter en adhérant à l'organisation. Traduit en treize langues, ce code fixe des conduites précises en ce qui concerne en particulier l'éthique des acquisitions et les responsabilités vis-à-vis des collections ou du public. Il constitue l'un des outils de la lutte contre les vols et le trafic illicite de biens culturels, dont les pratiques ne cessent de s'amplifier sous l'effet de la hausse du marché de l'art.

La restitution des biens culturels

L'ICOM a toujours souligné son attachement à la notion de restitution des biens en cas d'appropriation illicite. Il encourage les restitutions volontaires faites par les musées lorsque ceux-ci s'aperçoivent qu'ils détiennent des biens illégalement exportés ou vendus. Il déplore que de grands pays n'aient pas encore suivi l'exemple des États-Unis, du Canada, de l'Australie, pour ratifier la Convention de

l'Unesco de 1970 qui règlemente la circulation des biens culturels. Il affirme que l'identité culturelle des peuples est étroitement liée à la protection de leur patrimoine.

Des liens étroits Nord-Sud-Est-Ouest

Des échanges réguliers réunissent les membres des différents comités nationaux: l'URSS avec les É.-U. et la France, la France avec la Pologne et la Hongrie... Des programmes de jumelage de musée sont mis en oeuvre, tel le programme suédo-africain qui a amené quinze conservateurs africains en Suède pendant quinze jours, le programme «Musées sans frontières» de l'École du patrimoine (France) avec des conservateurs de différents pays.

Les affinités linguistiques génèrent des rencontres: musées de pays lusophones en septembre 1989 au Portugal, musées de pays germanophones comme en 1988 en RFA, Musées des pays nordiques en 1989 en Norvège.

Annexe: quelques faits saillants

1946

Fondation du Conseil international des musées (Paris) à l'initiative de Chauncey J. Hamlin (États-Unis d'Amérique) qui en devient le premier président.

L'Unesco place sous la responsabilité de l'ICOM le centre de documentation qui deviendra le Centre de documentation Unesco-ICOM. Unique banque de données pour les musées de toutes disciplines dans le monde, le Centre rend des services d'information, d'orientation et de recherche aux professionnels de musée, aux chercheurs, à l'Unesco et à ses États membres.

1948

Première Conférence générale (Paris). Des muséologues venant de cinquante-trois pays y participent. Création de douze comités spécialisés.

1950

Deuxième Conférence générale (Londres, Royaume-Uni) avec la participation de trente et un pays provenant des cinq continents. Principaux thèmes traités: échange des collections et du personnel de conservation, inventaire des instruments scientifiques, musées et éducation, problèmes de formation professionnelle.

1951

Réunion de la Commission pour les questions raciales dans le cadre du Comité international pour les musées d'ethnographie et de folklore (Paris).

Croisade des musées organisée par l'Unesco et l'ICOM; elle marque le début d'une prise de conscience par les conservateurs et les enseignants, à l'échelle internationale, du rôle éducatif des musées. Des actions successives aboutiront en 1977, à l'institution de la Journée internationale des musées (18 mai), célébrée régulièrement depuis dans nombre de pays.

1953

Troisième Conférence générale (Gênes, Milan et Bergame, Italie). Vingt-quatre pays sont représentés à la Conférence. Dix comités spécialisés y débattent, entre autres, des thèmes suivants: l'architecture des musées et les musées dans l'urbanisme moderne; musées et progrès scientifique et technique; musées d'histoire naturelle et protection de la nature; musées et compréhension internationale; le musée d'art moderne au service de l'art vivant.

Conférence sur les musées d'archéologie et d'histoire (Naples). Thèmes principaux: régime international des fouilles archéologiques; expositions temporaires mettant en lumière l'indépendance des civilisations.

1956

Quatrième Conférence générale (Bâle, Berne, Zurich, Schaffhouse, Neuchâtel et Genève, Suisse) avec des participants de trente-cinq pays. Thèmes principaux: le musée d'histoire naturelle dans le monde moderne; le problème des musées historiques à notre époque; installations modernes de musées techniques.

1959

Cinquième Conférence générale (Stockholm). Trente pays sont représentés; neuf Comités internationaux tiennent des réunions de travail. Thèmes discutés: échanges entre musées et expositions internationales artistiques; enquête sur la profession muséale; conseils pour l'établissement de musées de sciences et techniques; rôle des musées d'ethnographie en tant qu'instrument de recherche.

1962

Sixième Conférence générale (La Haye, Pays-Bas) avec des participants de vingt-deux pays. Principaux thèmes étudiés: dispositifs contre les vols d'objets d'art, problèmes spécifiques de la conservation des biens culturels dans les pays tropicaux et subtropicaux; le rôle des musées de folklore dans un monde en émulation.

1964

Participation à la Campagne mondiale contre la faim. Les Comités nationaux de l'ICOM organisent des expositions consacrées à la lutte contre la faim.

1965

Septième Conférence générale (Washington, Philadelphie et New York, États-Unis). Pour la première fois, un thème général de travail est adopté: «La formation du personnel des musées».

1968

Huitième Conférence générale (Cologne et Munich, RFA) avec des participants de soixante-cinq pays sur le thème: «Musée et recherche».

1974

Publication d'un recueil de législations nationales sur la protection du patrimoine culturel, aboutissement des efforts poursuivis par l'ICOM depuis 1970 pour dénoncer le trafic illicite des biens culturels, encourager les musées à s'y opposer en diffusant largement l'information sur les textes nationaux régissant la protection du patrimoine.

L'ICOM prépare, à l'intention de l'Unesco, une étude sur les aspects techniques, juridiques et administratifs de l'échange d'objets et de spécimens originaux entre institutions de différents pays. Cette étude servira de base de discussion aux experts gouvernementaux chargés d'élaborer la «Recommandation concernant l'échange international de biens culturels».

Dixième Conférence générale (Copenhague, Danemark) sous le thème «Le musée et le monde moderne». Soixante-deux pays y sont représentés.

1977

Onzième Conférence générale (Leningrad et Moscou, URSS) sur le thème «Musées et échanges culturels».

À la demande de l'Unesco, le Comité ad hoc de l'ICOM prépare une «étude relative aux principes, conditions et moyens de la restitution ou du retour de biens culturels en vue de la reconstitution des patrimoines dispersés».

À partir de 1977, l'ICOM, à la demande de l'Unesco, entreprend la réalisation de projets d'assistance technique et collabore à l'établissement ou à la rénovation de nombreux musées en divers pays.

1980

Douzième Conférence générale (Mexico, Mexique) sur le thème «Les musées et leur responsabilité à l'égard du patrimoine mondial».

1981

Publication du Répertoire des musées d'Afrique. L'ICOM commence, sous contrat avec l'Unesco, l'inventaire des biens culturels africains se trouvant hors d'Afrique.

1983

Treizième Conférence générale (Londres, Royaume-Uni) sur le thème: «Des musées pour un monde en développement».

1986

Quatorzième Conférence générale (Buenos Aires, Argentine) sur le thème: «Musées et avenir du patrimoine: état d'urgence».

1989

Quinzième Conférence générale (La Haye, Pays-Bas) sur le thème: «Musées générateurs de culture».

Pour toute information relative à la XVI[e] Conférence générale, les bureaux d'ICOM 1992 sont situés dans la Maison Chevalier, au 60, rue Marché-Champlain, Québec, G1K 8R1 (Téléphone (418) 694-1992) Télécopieur (418) 694-1450).

Micheline LABELLE, , Geneviève TURCOTTE, Marianne KEMPENEERS et Deirdre MEINTEL. *Histoires d'immigrées. Itinéraires d'ouvrières colombiennes, grecques, haïtiennes et portugaises de Montréal*, Montréal, Boréal, 1987, 275 pages.

Par Bernard Bernier
Département d'anthropologie
Université de Montréal

Les auteurs de ce livre ont utilisé la méthode des récits de vie, obtenus par entretien avec 76 femmes, pour montrer l'itinéraire de travailleuses immigrantes venant de quatre pays différents (Colombie, Grèce, Haïti et Portugal) et vivant présentement à Montréal. Elles ont voulu adopter le point de vue «des personnes concernées, car ce que l'on sait actuellement des femmes immigrées n'est trop souvent que le reflet du regard que leur portent les autres» (24). La présentation des résultats est divisée en trois grandes parties portant respectivement sur les pays d'origine, sur le processus d'émigration en tant que tel et sur la vie à Montréal, cette dernière partie étant divisée en un chapitre sur le travail et un autre sur la famille et la parenté. Les auteurs portent beaucoup d'attention au travail, car le travail, comme source de revenus, est au centre de la décision d'émigrer. D'ailleurs, comme elles le montrent dans leur introduction, les femmes immigrantes ont un taux de participation à la main-d'oeuvre active plus élevé que les femmes nées au Canada.

Les auteurs ont bien réussi à donner la parole aux femmes. Les témoignages des ouvrières immigrantes sur leur situation souvent très difficile dans leur pays d'origine, sur les péripéties du processus migratoire, sur les moyens d'obtenir des emplois, sur les conditions de travail, sur les relations avec leur mari, etc., sont éloquentes et donnent une image vivante de la vie quotidienne et de la situation de ces femmes. De plus, le choix des narrations est bien fait pour illustrer les différentes facettes traitées dans le livre. Les difficultés de combiner le travail salarié et le travail domestique sont particulièrement bien traitées.

Il y a toutefois un problème: les témoignages sont découpés selon les trois grandes parties du livre, ce qui veut dire que l'itinéraire des immigrantes, c'est-à-dire la continuité de la vie de chaque personne, le fond individuel qui lie en un tout, pour chacune, l'expérience dans le pays d'origine, le processus migratoire, la situation au travail et la vie familiale au Canada, est morcelé, découpé. La continuité des témoignages en est alors brisée. Par ailleurs, si quelques femmes sont facilement identifiables parce que les auteurs leur ont donné des noms fictifs, d'autres, la majorité, ne sont pas identifiées, sauf de façon impersonnelle (par exemple: «Quarante-deux ans, vivait à Port-au-Prince depuis l'âge de cinq ans. Émigre en 1969» (103). Cette façon de procéder rend difficile la reconstruction des itinéraires personnels et contribue au caractère découpé de la présentation.

Les auteurs se sont donné comme autre objectif de «susciter une réflexion théorique susceptible (...) de rendre compte de la réalité migratoire (...)» (13). Sur ce point, l'ouvrage, qui nous livre de nouveaux témoignages sur l'expérience des femmes ouvrières immigrantes, ce qui est bon en soi, et qui fournit une analyse plus qu'adéquate du sujet traité, ajoute peu aux livres et articles théoriques déjà disponibles sur la migration, sur les conditions dans le pays d'origine qui poussent à la migration et sur l'insertion des immigrants dans la société d'accueil.

Il s'agit donc d'un ouvrage très intéressant du point de vue empirique et analytique, mais qui comporte un problème d'exposition menant au morcellement de l'expérience des femmes ouvrières immigrantes et qui ajoute peu à la réflexion théorique sur la migration.

James B. Waldram, *As long as the Rivers Run: Hydroelectric Development and Native Communities in Western Canada*, Winnipeg, The University of Manitoba Press, 1988, 253 pages.

Par Alain Bissonnette
Conseil des Atikamekw et des Montagnais

D'abord intéressé par les conséquences sociales et économiques des projets hydro-électriques sur les communautés autochtones, l'auteur a pris conscience, au fil de ses enquêtes de terrain, d'un fait qui l'a intrigué et qu'il a voulu explorer à fond. Ce fait concerne le processus de planification et de négociation des projets hydro-électriques dans les régions éloignées du Canada. Selon l'auteur, et c'est là sa thèse, on se trouve face à un processus identique à celui utilisé au XIX^{e} siècle lors de la signature des traités avec les Indiens et de l'octroi de «scrip» aux Métis, et ce processus se répète partout au Canada ou les gouvernements provinciaux jugent qu'il est «de l'intérêt général» de leur citoyens de mettre en branle de tels projets de développement.

Dans son ouvrage, l'auteur établit minutieusement les parallèles entre la négociation des traités et celle des actuelles ententes permettant la construction de barrages hydro-électriques. Ses conclusions sont les suivantes: ces négociations sont toujours réalisées à la dernière minute, de façon fort accélérée et toujours sous pression. On peut même se demander jusqu'à quel point il s'agit de véritables négociations dans la mesure où les documents qui sont finalement signés sont toujours préalablement rédigés, du moins en très grande partie sinon entièrement. De même, les compensations accordées aux peuples autochtones concernés par les gouvernements sont fort semblables et tout à fait de même esprit. Par ailleurs, des organismes éphémères sont chargés de représenter les gouvernements concernés lors de la négociation de ces ententes, alors que la mise-en-oeuvre de ces dernières sont laissées à la seule discrétion des gouvernements. Ce qui semble être une véritable stratégie gouvernementale vise à d'abord signer avec une majorité de communauté autochtones plus attirées par les avantages immédiats que peut procurer l'entente en question, pour ensuite obtenir l'assentiment des quelques autres plus récalcitrantes. L'auteur constate également qu'à l'égard de ces ententes, aussi bien celles conclues au XIX^{e} siècle qu'au XX^{e}, les parties les interprètent selon les référents fort différents: les uns valorisant la version écrite, la langue anglaise et les concepts occidentaux qui se rattachent a cette version, les autres appuyant plutôt sur la version orale des ententes et leurs propres concepts en matière d'alliance sociale et économique. De même, l'attitude du gouvernement fédéral à l'égard des peuples autochtones n'a, selon l'auteur, guère changé depuis un siècle: lorsqu'il s'agit de discuter la réalisation d'un projet de développement important dans une région où se trouve un groupe autochtone, la solution demeurant globalement identique, c'est-à-dire que les autochtones n'ont qu'à être déplacés, le gouvernement fédéral ayant la compétence nécessaire pour les y forcer. L'auteur souligne, en outre, le rôle des conseillers lors de ces négociations. Il y a un siècle, on ne retrouvait aucun avocat à l'emploi des autochtones, et ceux qui les conseillaient n'étaient que très rarement indépendants; soit qu'ils étaient carrément des employés du gouvernement fédéral, soit qu'ils estimaient préférable de tout simplement accepter les vues de ce dernier. Aujourd'hui, certes, la situation a changé, mais les efforts des conseillers des peuples autochtones n'ont que très rarement porté fruit dans ce domaine précis de lutte contre les projets gigantesques de l'une ou l'autre des composantes de l'État canadien.

L'ouvrage de Waldham doit être lu. D'abord, parce qu'il apporte un éclairage fort bien documenté sur l'une des dimensions essentielles des rapports entre les peuples autochtones et l'État canadien. Et, aussi parce qu'il démontre, preuves à l'appui, que les bons sentiments, les recours à certains outillages juridiques et l'appel à la démocratie ont jusqu'à présent largement failli. Aussi nous oblige-t-il à reconsidérer comment il pourrait être possible de s'opposer plus efficacement à des projets qui pourront s'avérer désastreux non seulement pour les communautés autochtones directement concernées mais pour l'ensemble des citoyens, dans la mesure où ces projets hydro-électriques gigantesques n'auront produit de bénéfices réels que pour une infime minorité d'entre eux.

On peut, par ailleurs, reprocher à l'auteur de n'avoir pas suffisamment démontré en quoi l'attitude des gouvernements envers les autochtones est foncièrement injuste. En effet, tant que l'on adhère à la logique de l'État qui veut que les terres publiques lui appartiennent, qu'il s'agisse, en tout point, pour le bénéfice de l'ensemble de ses citoyens et que les peuples autochtones ne soient qu'une simple minorité, alors comment penser qu'il a agi injustement envers les autochtones? Entre les intérêts de la majorité et ceux d'une minorité, le choix n'est pas difficile à faire, surtout s'il est assuré qu'un projet précis entraînera d'importantes retombées économiques pour l'ensemble de la population. Aussi aurait-il fallu, à notre avis, que l'auteur insiste beaucoup plus sur le caractère controversé du postulat voulant que l'ensemble des projets hydro-électriques seront économiquement profitables pour l'ensemble des citoyens. Aussi aurait-il fallu également qu'il déconstruise le discours étatique canadien qui minimise, au plan juridique, l'occupation du territoire par les peuples autochtones, se permettant ainsi de toujours les dominer selon diverses techniques appropriées au goût du jour.

Il ne nous reste plus qu'à souhaiter que Waldram poursuive sa réflexion, en tenant compte, notamment, des récents jugements de la Cour suprême du Canada qui interdisent dorénavant de recourir au seul argument de «l'intérêt public» pour porter atteinte aux droits ancestraux ou issus de traités avec les peuples autochtones. Toute loi ayant cet effet devra éventuellement être justifiée, si elle est contestée devant les tribunaux. Devant une telle situation, quelles stratégies utiliseront les sociétés d'État et les représentants de communautés autochtones menacées par les grands projets du siècle? Et, surtout, est-ce que les résultats demeureront inexorablement les mêmes, peu importe les stratégies utilisées?

Kevin MCMAHON, Arctic Twilight: Reflections on the Destiny of *Canada's Northern Land and People*, Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1988. Canada 16.00 (paper), 29.95 (cloth).

by Gurston Dacks
University of Alberta

This is a passionate, eloquent, personal book. The twilight it reports is the twilight of a people — the Inuit of Canada's North as McMahon encountered them while travelling as a journalist in the Arctic. McMahon records the multiple and nuanced layers of the destruction of the Inuit way of life. His account of the impacts of non-Inuit religion, disease, commerce and public administration is graphic, angry and compelling, but reveals little new to readers familiar with the North. More interesting are his comments on the subtle and fudamental ways in which non-Inuit culture and science have undercut Inuit epistemology and social integration. McMahon's vision is of a people irreparably damaged:

> "The repressive weight of time and history are crushing the original (Inuit) understanding of nature... Mythology, through which the past was continually recreated in the present, is disappearing.... The apoalypse Inuit are experiencing... is the fiery disintegration of the love between members of the community, between the old and the young, husbands and wives, parents and children; and, encompassing all, between the people and the land."

McMahon lays much of the contemporary blame for this desperate situation at the feet of two villains — the military-sovereignty nexus and television. He argues that the military historically drew a great many Inuit off the land, often away from the families, the most peripheral members of a marginalized society. He also argues that television has sundered the generations of Inuit, creating a youth who are unreflectively "agressive, acquisitive, fashionable and egoistic", all traits which are grossly unsuited to living successfully on the land and for reproducing in the future the values and mythology which sustained the Inuit for so many generations in the past.

The book reports a second, larger twilight than that of the Inuit.

Indeed, as the argument unfolds, the Inuit become less the subject of the discourse and more the springboard for the reflections referred to in the book's subtitle. Ultimately, the Inuit appear, like the canaries once used in coal mines, as the most vulnerable among us who demonstrate, by being the first to succumb, the morbidity of our practices. The evil which has doomed the Inuit — and us — is Progress, the modernity which has torn us apart from nature, from morality, from one another. In this sense, the twilight which has come most palpably to the Arctic is the twilight of humane civilization globally.

Arctic Twilight has significant strengths. The prose style, vigorous and engaging, will attract a popular audience, the intended readership. The presentation of McMahon's northern experiences and encounters is vivid and thought-provoking. Readers may not agree with all of the inferences which he draws from these experiences and from his use of an eclectic array of sources, such as Northrop Frye and Marshall McLuhan, to illuminate the global implications of the Inuit experience. The author's discussion of the North as a case study or alarm for the rest of us does not advance our thinking about such topics as global militarization, environmental degradation, consumer materialism and the cultural impact of mass-audience, commercial communications. However, McMahon's excursions in lateral thinking do challenge readers to think in new ways about the North.

They would be better equipped to do so if McMahon's jermiad were better balanced. The fate of the Inuit offers much to lament.

However, the author is so driven by his dismay that he dismisses positive developments. Their aboriginal claim may give the Inuit a very substantial degree of control over land use and wildlife management. With the settlement ofthe claim approaching, division ofthe N.W.T. will revive as a political issue. Should it occur, it will backstop the claim and position the Inuit to manage their relations with the forces of modernity with a strength that most peoples of the fourth world can only envy. It may be that the claim settlement and division will fail to live up to their promise. However, merely to dismiss them without substantive discussion is to deny the reader information necessary to understanding the future of the Inuit.

It may be that McMahon's northern experiences blinker his understanding. While it is impossible to comprehend the North without experiencing its small communities, the North is equally obscure to observers who, like McMahon, have not also experienced the politics of the territorial capitals and of Ottawa. McMahon has fingered only some of the pieces of the puzzle. McMahon's lack of balance may result from selective reporting, a possibility suggested by his penchant for exaggeration. His observation, which reflects his abhorrence of the mental-

ity which promotes sovereignty through the expansion of armed excess, that "...the (Canadian) military is given a *carte blanche* accorded to no other department" (147) must astonish observers of the last twenty years of military spending. McMahon's assertion that "our society refuses to seriously question, consider or debate the social change inherent in new technologies" (238) can only leave the reader wondering what he reads.

In the end, *Arctic Twilight* tells us more about Kevin McMahon than about the Inuit. The immediacy of his anecdotes and the breadth of his reflections merit reading, but the prudent reader will want to leaven the heady effect of this book with more authoritative works such as Hugh Brody's *Living Arctic*.

Regna DARNELL, *Edward Sapir: Linguist, Anthropologist, Humanist*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. 480 pages, U.S. $29.95 (cloth).

by Dick Preston
McMaster University

Sapir is anthropology's one generally acknowledged genius. The scholarly events surrounding the centenary of his birth make clear his continuing value for us. Several collections of papers and the first of the 16 volumes of *The Collected Works of Edward Sapir* have already been published; others are at various stages of preparation. During our planning for the Centenary Conference in Ottawa, Regna Darnell commented that we would soon know more about Sapir than any other anthropologist. She was right, and she has made a major contribution to this fact.

This important book provides the many Sapir enthusiasts, both present and future, with the full context of Sapir's myriad activities. None of us knew even most of this context, and so the book serves to both broaden and correct our impressions. For this reason it is prerequisite for our various further efforts in understanding, extending, testing and otherwise working out the wonderfully wide scope of Sapir's examples and implications for our continuing intellectual inquiry.

Regna Darnell has put together a full record of what we know, positively, about Sapir's life, with special focus on his professional relationships. This is no mean feat, since it requires critical facility in the wide range of interests and activities that Sapir engaged in during a very full and intense life. Few anthropologists have the intellectual breadth to undertake such a study; Darnell has specialist expertise in linguistics, ethnography, and institutional history, and has drawn on a wide range of personal communication, unpublished material, and her own years of critical thought on Sapir's work and place in the professionalization of anthropology.

The book, then, covers its very broad scope with a purpose and an organizational scheme and scholarly expositiory style that are very much Darnell's. Twenty-one chapters follow a life course sequence, with the modification of some parallel chapters covering different career interests that were worked out at approximately the same time.

His first 17 years are given a very brief but interesting overview. Somewhat more detail is given for his undergraduate and graduate years at Columbia, beginning with a heavy concentration on languages and a second sustained interest in music, apparently heading for a career in Germanic philology. Then, in his third year, he tried an introductory anthropology course, and simultaneously, began a two year graduate seminar with Boas, completing it and his MA at the end of the fourth year, with a summer's fieldwork on Wishram Chinook. Darnell gives us a review of his thesis, on one of Herder's essays. The fifth year was doctoral work in languages, and the summer was a return to Washington and fieldwork on Takelma for his dissertation. The sixth year was dedicated to broadening his general anthropological competence (with the exception of physical anthropology, which apparently never interested him).

At this point, Darnell begins the finely and fully detailed history of Sapir's professional career, which I can scarcely summarize in this review. The four page table of contents will give you a good sense of what is covered. Darnell has done a very successful job of writing a history of Sapir's professional career, and begins, and then leaves to others, the more subjective side of intellectual biography, and the further working out of the vistas he showed us. What is missing, for me, is the sense of his underlying optimism about the potential of excellent ideas to give humankind an understanding and amelioration of their world - which Sapir sustained through the early hopes and later discouragements of many unrealized or failed collaborations with other intellectually excellent people; a few during fifteen years in Ottawa, many more during six years at Chicago, and the final eight years at Yale.

After several others had thought the task too formidable, Regna Darnell took on a tough job, did a

great deal of research very well, and she has certainly earned our thanks. My two negative criticisms have to do with psychology and with style. Darnell seems to feel an outsider to psychological analysis and nuance. I dispute the awkward or imprecise use of psychological terms, e.g.: "more like a magician than a scientist (129); "lunatic fringes" (130); "infatuation with psychology" (140); "Freudian" unconscious (215). Also, I find some of the later discussion of personality psychiatry to be at once gratifyingly complete, yet less than convincing. and with regard to style, while I realize that the purpose of the book requires sustained attention to detail, the labourious researching that the writing required comes through too much to the reader, where a more free-flowing prose would have made a more felicitous reception and a clearer sense of development.

But I must emphasize that these are not major flaws, and it is to Darnell's great credit that we are given good coverage of the full range of Sapir's work. It might very well have been a much more constricted biography, had it been written by someone else. Especially in linguistics, Sapir developed and extended mature theory, method, and technique. Some linguists and anthropologists seem to wish that he had left it at that, and not essayed into the vagaries of the psychology of language and the psychology of culture. Certainly his music and poetry are not excellent, although they are indicative of his style of thought had it been written by someone else. The technology available to him for dealing with the "infinitely more complex and obscure" phenomena of psychology and art was very immature, and so he was not able to bring it to anywhere near the kind of resolution he could achieve with linguistics.

But if these tasks were much more difficult, it does not follow that they were less worthwhile, or that he was being profligate with abilities better saved for the easier science of languages. Typically, intellectuals of an essentially technological bent are rarely comfortable with essays into these domains. But Sapir's greatness of intellectual scope, intuitive facility, and humanist values got past these discomforts. Understanding the nature of consciousness, unconsciousness, and culture are huge challenges, and we owe Sapir for his amibition to address these challenges. And we owe Darnell for helping us to better understand Sapir.

CORRECTION

The caption to Figure 16, page 45 in volume 9:2 was inadvertantly omitted during the production process. The caption should have read as follows:

> *" Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and not in some sneaky relativistic way?*

The editors of **CULTURE** regret the omission of this information in the original publication, and apologize to the author and to the original author of the cartoon.

NOTE TO CONTRIBUTORS

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We strongly suggest that manuscripts be submitted on disquette (Word or WordPerfect are preferred). Disquettes must be accompanied by a print-out submitted in triplicate, double-spaced and on 21 x 27 cm (8 1/2 x 11 inches) paper, with adequate margins, and accompanied by an abstract of not more than 100 words. Authors should keep a copy for themselves. No manuscript will be returned. Unless prior agreement exists between the editors and authors, manuscripts will be destroyed after publication.

References, notes and citations must be typed in double-spacing. Bibliographic entries in the text should be made in parentheses and indicate the author's name, the year of publication and the page cited or quoted from: (Godelier, 1973 : 116) for example. If the author's name already appears in the text, it is sufficient to indicate the year and page. To distinguish between multiple entries by the same author published in the same year, use letters (1973a, 1973b). When several entries by multiple authors are necessary, they should be made within the same parentheses and separated by a semicolon (Godelier, 1973a; Poulantzas, 1978). Notes should be kept to a minimum, numbered and placed at the end of the text and on a separate page. Bibliographic references should appear after the notes in alphabetical order by author and by chronological order for each author and should provide all pertinent information. Authors should use the style of referencing which follows:

JONES, R. L. and S.K. JONES
1976 The Himalayan Woman, Palo Alto, Mayfield.

PETER, K.A.
1980 The Decline of Hutterite Population Growth, Canadian Ethnic Studies, 12(3) : 97-110.

Maps, figures and tables must be presented in «photo-ready» form (India ink or letraset) on separate pages and their position in the text indicated. Size should not exceed 16 x 12.5 cm (5 x 8 inches). Photographs to accompany the text should be of high quality black and white prints.

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Normally, proofs of articles will be sent to authors when the publication schedule permits. Otherwise, the editors will provide corrections. Authors must read and return their proofs without delay. The cost of any additions and deletions made by the authors at such a late stage and which require recomposition, will be borne by the authors.

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Nous recommandons fortement que les manuscrits soient soumis sur disquette (WordPerfect ou Word si possible) - les disquettes devront être accompagnées des textes imprimés, en trois exemplaires à double interligne sur papier 21 x 27 cm (8 1/2 x 11 po.) au recto seulement, en laissant des marges convenables. Chaque manuscrit doit être accompagné d'un résumé n'excédant pas 100 mots. Les auteurs conserveront une copie de leur texte. Aucun manuscrit ne sera retourné. À moins d'une entente préalable entre les auteurs et la Rédaction, les manuscrits seront détruits après publication.

Les références, notes et citations doivent être dactylographiées à double interligne. Les renvois bibliographiques dans le texte sont mis entre parenthèses en indiquant l'auteur, l'année de publication et la page, par exemple (Godelier, 1973 : 116). Si le nom de l'auteur apparaît dans le texte, il suffit d'indiquer l'année de publication et la page. On distingue les renvois multiples à un même auteur pour une même année en utilisant les lettres (1973a, 1973b). Plusieurs renvois sont inclus dans une même parenthèse et séparés par des points virgules (Godelier, 1973a; Poulantzas, 1978). Les notes doivent être réduites au minimum, numérotées et placées à la fin du texte sur une feuille distincte. Les références bibliographiques sont placées après les notes par ordre alphabétique d'auteur et par ordre chronologique pour chaque auteur et doivent donner toutes les informations pertinentes. Les auteurs doivent veiller à la normalisation des références en respectant ce protocole:
LUCAS, P. et J.-C. VATIN
1975 L'Algérie des anthropologues, Paris, Maspéro.
MARTENS, L.
1980 Psychanalyse et ethnologie, Anthropologie et Sociétés, 4 (2) : 101-111.

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Richard Salisbury with a group of Miya Miya villagers, and Joe Mangi (centre), a University of Papua New Guinea anthropologist, in Enga Province, New Guinea Highlands, 1984.
Photo: Gary Kildeer

Richard Salisbury avec un groupe de villageois de Miya Miya, dans la province d'Enga, sur les hauts plateaux de la Nouvelle Guinée et Joe Mangi (au centre), anthropologue de l'Université de Papouasie Nouvelle Guinée,1984.
Photo: Gary Kildeer

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CONTENTS /
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